

**PRESS AND POLITICS IN
BRITISH WESTERN PUNJAB
1836-1947**

converts (such as Imad-ud-din) cannot be labelled wholesale as westernizers.⁶⁹ True they became Christians, but they did not necessarily become Western Christians. Especially after 1857, there was a "color line" between Christian foreigners and Punjabis. Imad-ud-din did not change his attire to become an Englishman. He did not go to America or Great Britain when he retired from active life. Relatively few converts married foreign Christians. Even when converts passed Christian schools and worked in imperial offices attired and conversing as Europeans, still there was a distinction made which few overcame. The desire of the Protestant churches in India in the early twentieth century to be independent from their mother bodies in Europe or America is another indication of the indigenous orientation of the changes made by converts in themselves.⁷⁰

Many Indians were modern in that they were responding to a nineteenth and twentieth century, Western-dominated, imperialistic world. They were indigenously oriented in that they sought to modify, not replace, Indian values and society. The ethical and political standards may have appeared to be Western, the rhetoric and patterns of defending a position verbally may have involved Western models, but the cultural practices being defended were typically Indian. Just as the rhetoric was often borrowed, so the press as a mass medium was borrowed and each and every borrowing had its impact on India.

This is why the manner in which the British Government used the press must also be considered. The Government was the most powerful institution in Punjab during British rule. Because of the Government, deserts bloomed, cities grew, and new ideas spread. In order to be effective, the Government had to solve communication problems. It had to build an internal communication system for itself. As a bureaucracy, the Government (both civil and military) had to be able to receive commands, gather information and implement decisions. The Government also had to establish an external communication network in order to be in contact with the masses it governed. Regulations, reports, and notices were often printed in order to make identical copies available in required numbers. Most Government inspired printing was designed to be an elite medium in contrast to many of the missionary publication efforts. Government publications were disseminated selectively within an educated bureaucracy. Print was employed to extend and supplement personal contact and authority. One of the consequential effects of this trend was the employment of clerks and other civil servants in increasing numbers.

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EMMETT DAVIS



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rapid succession. The slave mentality created and fostered by the Pir and Parohit received a rude shock and people were unceremoniously awakened to see that a new world was bloossoming before their dreamy eyes. People now were able to see things in their right perspective.”⁵⁰

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All these organizations, using the words of historian Spencer Lavan in describing the Ahmadiyyas, "opposed the easy assumptions of religious liberals about an accommodation with science; yet at the same time, it employed reason and argument to present its case". The followers of these new movements were watching and listening to their leaders, "articulate in speech and writings a new vision of Islamic century" and this was an indirect reference to Mirza Ahmad⁷. The Punjabis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gathered around outspoken leaders like Mirza Ahmad who spoke of visions of a new age. In the multi-religious atmosphere of Punjab, it could never be anticipated as to which individual would be attracted to Islam, Christianity, or any of the other great traditions as a source of religious heritage. Men like Imad-ud-din changed from Islam to Christianity. Among the first Hindu pandits that Mirza Ahmad debated was Pandit Kharak Singh, who later also changed to Christianity and thus was built the Christain community of Punjab. Conversions were especially heavy among the lower class and caste groups who were probably keen to seek educational opportunities and higher social positions. Conversion, however, had been a Punjabi phenomenon prior to the coming of the British. Many Punjabi Muslims and all Sikhs had Indian ancestors who had once been members of other traditions. But under the British, an added sense of hostility and insecurity entered in the domain of the religion. The causes of this hostility were many and the print contributed in two ways. Print as mass medium increased the speed and distance that news of religious troubles could spread. News of a riot, whether it had occurred or not, could spark riots in other cities and also in the neighborhoods. The newspaper *Akhbar-i-Aam*, by reporting incorrectly the occurrence of a riot, could have nearly sparked a disturbance of its own.

Print also influenced religious troubles by reporting in demographic data in quantitative ways. The British Government collected census data, including the size of the various religious communities. These data were then published and distributed. It then became possible for religious leaders to rejoice or bemoan the growth or shrinkage of their own or other religious communities. All increases in any one community, of course, usually meant a decline in other communities.

The absorption of one community by another was theoretically possible, leading to the destruction of the heritage of the absorbed community. The Sikhs, organized under Mughal rule as a fifteenth century syncretic community fusing the Muslim and the Hindu beliefs, were particularly vulnerable. Unlike the Hindu and the

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PROFESSOR DAVID KOPF for guiding my mind
and

PROFESSOR PAUL STANESLOW for guiding the
products of my mind

especially present in colonial situations, is also present with internally generated innovations. The center of productive powers to be acknowledged by a society adopting internally generating change lies not in another society, but in a future world to be realized when the new innovation is fully exploited.

An example of such an internally generated innovation is the printing press for the West. If there ever was a state of equilibrium prior to Gutenberg, it certainly has yet to be re-established. Print for the West has yet to be fully adopted and exploited. Since its introduction over two hundred years ago, there has been a series of discoveries, adoptions, and adaptations. It took the widespread use of electronic media before an English literature scholar explicitly outlined the linear features and impact of print on the West. In the United States of America, a journalist's rights and duties have yet to be agreed upon, so that the courts have recently convicted journalists for refusing to reveal their sources of information. The study of the adoption of Gutenberg's press is not the analysis of an event, but that of a long, echoing situation. It may have had a beginning but it certainly has not ended in over half a millenium.

In this study of the adoption of the printing press by the Western Punjabis, there are three main types of evidence indicating that the introduction of the innovation (let alone its adoption and adaptation) was a long situation spotted with events rather than just one event. The three types of evidence are technical, professional (or social), and from the general environment.

The technical category includes a broad definition of the printing press as used in this work. The words 'printing press' stand neither for the specific press that the Reverend Newton and Reverend Wilson brought from Calcutta to Ludhiana in the 1830s nor for the type of press that it was, an old hand-press. Rather, the words signify a large family of ditto devices, of mechanical duplicators related to Newton's printing hand-press. The family encompasses hand-set type presses, modern linotype presses for newspapers, old stone lithographic presses, and the modern Van Dyke machines that prepare photo-chemically sheets of metal to act as the press plate. The family of presses range from hand-run presses found in one-room, family print shops to steam presses of the late 1800s and on to the electrically powered presses of the contemporary factory-like newspaper plants. From earliest to latest, each form of the printing press family is increasingly dependent on sophisticated industry. Each successive form needs an ever more industrialized society to provide

PREFACE

IN today's Information Age, the world is increasingly aware that information is a valuable asset yet too few of us understand how societies learn and know, how they learn from other societies (especially under imperialistic conditions) and what they know is affected by the information system they develop. Communication is the essence of community. The manner in which people gather, process, store, retrieve and disseminate information defines their collective and corporate personality in terms of who they are ontogenetically as well as phylogenetically. This study makes authentic and clearly identifiable researches along these parameters into the metamorphosis wrought about by the printing press into the socio-political life as well as the intellectual climate of the sleepy Western Punjab (the whole territory being part of present-day Pakistan). The Punjab of the period 1836-1947 was more modern than the Punjab of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time : the cities were larger and better developed, there were faster and more mechanized modes of transport and communication, the rate of literacy was higher among men and women. Western Punjab may have started its first century of printing three to four hundred years later than Europe but the zeal and drive that motivated the British as well as the American missionaries and the administrators of the British Indian Empire plus the advanced level of technology compensated for the time gap. The British and the Americans did not end up with the introduction of the press technology but they also evolved social institutions around the press like churches, schools, commercial commodities, literary circles etc. What they introduced in Western Punjab was not just the printing press but a whole set of cultural and social patterns in a mixed society of the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs and the Christians.

When I set out to meet and understand the people both in India and Pakistan, my specific purpose was to probe into the modes and means of how they manipulated information. This study is an overview of the close-knit interaction between the press and politics in the British Western Punjab over a century since the annexation of Punjab till the partition of the Indian subcontinent into two independent nations of India and Pakistan. For me the weaknesses of this history are its most important features. My continuing research is given direction by what I found missing : an understanding of the

Table 5.4
BOOK PRODUCTION IN PUNJAB 1891-1900

| Languages | Years | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1891 | 1892 | 1893 | 1894 | 1895 | 1896 | 1897 | 1898 | 1899 | 1900 |
| English | 38 | 86 | 77 | 63 | 57 | 80 | 101 | 104 | 82 | 80 |
| Arabic | 56 | 48 | 48 | 26 | 34 | 21 | 31 | 47 | 30 | 35 |
| Brahui | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Bilochi | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 5 |
| Hindi | 66 | 79 | 76 | 66 | 93 | 71 | 77 | 71 | 75 | 85 |
| Kashmiri | — | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | — | 1 | 9 | 6 | 2 |
| Lando | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Marwari | — | — | — | — | — | 6 | — | 3 | — | — |
| Multani | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Punjabi | 179 | 248 | 218 | 111 | 298 | 208 | 234 | 274 | 308 | 341 |
| Pushto | 5 | 11 | 10 | 5 | 15 | 22 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 14 |
| Persian | 60 | 54 | 44 | 27 | 30 | 29 | 22 | 38 | 45 | 51 |
| Prakrit | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Sanskrit | 9 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 13 | 7 | 9 | 15 | 26 | 15 |
| Sindhi | 36 | 21 | 58 | 23 | 41 | 26 | 24 | 7 | 36 | 55 |
| Tankhe | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tibetan | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Urdu | 700 | 745 | 796 | 560 | 617 | 411 | 471 | 606 | 533 | 485 |
| Other | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | — |
| Bilingual | 90 | 102 | 98 | 74 | 89 | 77 | 86 | 129 | 166 | 118 |
| Trilingual | 12 | 18 | 16 | 5 | 11 | 9 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 12 |
| Poylot | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | — | 1 | 5 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 1,286 | 1,483 | 1,452 | 967 | 1,304 | 971 | 1,074 | 1,326 | 1,284 | 1,301 |

forces behind the fortunes of the various printed vernacular languages, an adequate evaluation of the role of such people as John Newton, Maulvi Mahboob Alam, Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, and Munshi Harsukh Rai, as well as a record of the role of women in this history

This book has developed from my academic work in the History of South Asia at the University of Minnesota, two visits to Pakistan and India (1972 and 1974), research materials in the Ames Library of the University of Minnesota, discussions with publishers in Urdu Bazaar (Lahore), the aid of Professor Tabassum Kashmiri of the University of Punjab (Lahore) in surveying contemporary Western Punjabi publishers endless dialogues with fellow students, and years of intellectual prodding by Professor David Kopf of the University of Minnesota. My dependence on written records for this project has increased my appreciation for those who have committed their thoughts to writing. In this way I "heard" the ideas of such spatially distant historians as N. Gerald Barrier, G. S. Chhabra, S. M. A. Feroze, Kenneth W. Jones, Spencer Lavin, S. Natarajan, and John C. Webster. To them all I am highly beholden for their guidance and help in the completion of this work.

1370, Wellesley Avenue
Saint Paul, Minnesota, U S A

EMMETT DAVIS

Table 5.6
BOOK PRODUCTION IN PUNJAB 1911-1920

| Languages | Years | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | 1920 |
| English | 78 | 112 | 125 | 171 | 219 | 187 | 222 | 254 | 193 | 185 |
| Arabic | 22 | 19 | 7 | 27 | 14 | 25 | 17 | 30 | 42 | 52 |
| Brahui | — | — | — | — | — | 6 | — | — | — | — |
| Bilochi | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hindi | 68 | 75 | 52 | 62 | 73 | 70 | 100 | 84 | 76 | 73 |
| Kashmiri | 15 | 7 | — | 9 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | — | — |
| Lande | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| Marwari | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Multani | 6 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 12 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 3 |
| Punjabi | 504 | 523 | 697 | 704 | 571 | 543 | 550 | 591 | 482 | 715 |
| Pushto | 8 | 7 | 13 | 18 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | 4 |
| Persian | 15 | 9 | 15 | 22 | 17 | 18 | 11 | 19 | 11 | 15 |
| Prakrit | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Sanskrit | 7 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 17 | 8 | 5 | 9 | 8 |
| Sindhi | 18 | 13 | 34 | 25 | 14 | 29 | 15 | 9 | 13 | 5 |
| Tankhe | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tibetan | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Urdu | 691 | 591 | 532 | 964 | 624 | 660 | 565 | 558 | 468 | 649 |
| Other | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | 1 | — |
| Bilingual | 115 | 142 | 43 | 178 | 148 | 164 | 132 | 128 | 90 | 107 |
| Trilingual | 15 | 20 | 15 | 29 | 13 | 19 | 14 | 10 | 10 | 28 |
| Polyglot | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | — | 1 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 1,565 | 1,532 | 1,642 | 2,221 | 1,721 | 1,751 | 1,646 | 1,699 | 1,403 | 1,848 |

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Table 5.8
BOOK PRODUCTION IN PUNJAB 1931-1940

| Languages | Years | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | 1936 | 1937 | 1938 | 1939 | 1940 |
| English | 122 | 172 | 282 | 258 | 258 | 301 | 236 | 255 | 365 | 350 |
| Arabic | 12 | 14 | 5 | 12 | 12 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 16 | 9 |
| Brahui | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bilochi | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | 1 | — | — |
| Hindi | 126 | 182 | 166 | 180 | 150 | 213 | 258 | 215 | 282 | 242 |
| Kashmiri | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 12 | 20 | 16 | 33 | 44 | 50 |
| Lande | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Marwari | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Multani | 5 | 2 | 3 | — | 6 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 8 | — |
| Punjabi | 596 | 558 | 423 | 313 | 530 | 277 | 356 | 517 | 405 | 274 |
| Pushto | 11 | 33 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 12 | 14 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Persian | 13 | 43 | 34 | 33 | 25 | 43 | 21 | 13 | 20 | 30 |
| Prakrit | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sanskrit | 17 | 13 | — | 9 | 14 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 18 | 8 |
| Sindhi | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Tankle | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tibetan | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Urdu | 614 | 514 | 653 | 825 | 642 | 621 | 876 | 823 | 1,407 | 1,036 |
| Other | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 2 | — | — |
| Bilingual | 86 | 113 | 150 | 122 | 141 | 116 | 253 | 257 | 195 | 169 |
| Trilingual | 2 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 5 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 4 |
| Polyglot | 1 | — | — | — | — | 3 | — | 5 | 1 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 1,610 | 1,657 | 1,727 | 1,775 | 1,805 | 1,652 | 2,055 | 2,164 | 2,775 | 2,168 |

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vernacular newspapers of this class. This table from Prem Narain is evidence that the Punjabi publishing had a life of its own and the Punjabis selected language media and formats as they desired.

It was an increasingly vibrant life that the Punjabi publishing had. The number of newspapers and magazines of all classes went from 74 in 1891 to 116 in 1901 and to 229 in 1911. The circulation in those twenty years climbed from 24,000 to 184,000.

"In other words, 8 persons in every 1,000 now get one newspaper against less than one per million in 1891. One in every five literates has thus a paper to himself and one paper is read by very many more persons than the one subscriber. Papers now filter down to every village and the educated folk usually collect at the house of the local magnate or in the village *chaupal* to read news of provincial or local interest or items of graver concerns relating to remoter places. In the towns, the papers are generally passed from one man to another, and it would not be far from the truth to say that every adult literate now spends a part of his time in reading a newspaper, particularly when some exciting incident in the country or abroad is agitating the public mind and affords the necessary attraction."⁵

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2. In *Diffusion of Innovations*, Rogers echoes a general criticism of rural sociologists of their own tradition, "to approach with little emphasis upon the sociological significance of the finding." p. 38.

Studies of the consequences of innovations are discussed in Rogers, *Communication of Innovations*, pp. 318-345. The example given on pages 326-328 of the introduction of the diesels in rural Turkey sheds light on the social aspects of innovations.
3. Barns, pp. 239-245.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 310, and 316. Also see *Ibid.*, pp. 239-245.

SOCIALIZATION OF THE PRESS

THE Province of Punjab in the British India comprised of two types of territories. The British territory, forming part of the British Indian Empire, was administered by the Viceroy of India through a Lieutenant-Governor. The remaining territory known by the generic name of Princely States was ruled by a host of native rulers on the basis of treaties reached by the Imperial Government of British India individually with each of them. The territory of Punjab under British Indian Empire consisted of about thirty districts grouped into five divisions. After the partition of the country in 1947, the entire British territory has gone over to the present-day Pakistan. During the period of about one hundred years following the introduction of the printing press in Western Punjab since early 1800s, the overriding political process was directed at the reincorporation of Punjab into the British Indian Empire. Its geography of being a richly fertile plain on the northwestern trading routes of India and its history of having been a central province of the Mughal Empire facilitated the absorption of independent, eighteenth century Sikh kingdoms (like that of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1780-1839) into the British Indian Empire. The politics of imperialism with its impact on education, religion and local politics influenced the development of the printing industry in Western Punjab. As a basis for understanding the effect of imperialism on the history of press in this area, it is imperative to have a look at the geography of the region.

Western Punjab for purposes of this study is the area bounded by the two rivers, the Indus and the Sutlej. It excludes the area east of the holy city of Amritsar. In other terms, Western Punjab

Before the Punjabis could exploit the mass potential of print, a proper environment in the shape of a sufficiently developed infrastructure was necessary. Widespread literacy, for instance, was needed. Transportation and communication networks were imperative in order to get information from the major cities to Punjabi towns and villages. The Punjabis also needed new social structures, such as economic institutions to finance enterprises and professional associations to regulate editors, writers, printers, and retailers. In other words, before the Punjabis could use print in a modern, mass, information-carrying manner, the Punjab itself had to be modernized.

The difference in the extent of modernization before 1860 and after 1880 explains in part the difference between the adapters of the environment of the educational and literary press period and that of the adapters of the press of the religious and political reform era. In the 1860s and 1870s, the English officials such as Leitner and Holroyd were prominent and also were necessary as initiators of adaptation. By the 1880s, individual British initiators for the most part were superfluous. Swami Dayanand learned techniques from Brahmo Samaj leaders in Calcutta who in turn had learned them from the English missionaries. Swami Dayanand did not need any major aid from foreigners to get started.

As Latif has pointed out, the Indians involved in the educational and literary reform of the 1870s were people raised almost totally in traditional environment with minimal exposure to the English culture. The Punjabis of the religious reform press, especially the organizers of press related activities, were much more familiar with the English ways. Although the leaders like Swami Dayanand had traditional backgrounds yet several of their prominent supporters had western-styled education. Young college students were an important source of strength for the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. For instance, even Bhagat Lakshman Singh of *The Khalsa* had been educated in mission schools.

More than the people, however, it was the respective missions that distinguished the type of adaptation of the two periods. The leaders of the educational and literary period subsidized and encouraged translations of European works and compilations of text-books. The leaders of the reform period aggressively used the press as a mass medium. They even courted arrest and law suits which earlier leaders had avoided. The earlier movements wanted to bring the Indians and the British closer, to establish personal bonds that would soften the decisions of the British. The reformers desired to win

comprised of the three western divisions out of the five divisions of Punjab of the British Indian Empire including the Princely State of Bahawalpur. Most of the area (viz the divisions of Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multan, and Bahawalpur) became part of Pakistan. Only the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur and sections of Lahore and Sialkot districts were annexed to India. The eastern districts of the province are not emphasized in this work because of so many princely states in that region. The variations introduced by the princes into the history of Punjab press need to be studied separately. The eastern Punjab has also not been dealt with because it was under the influence of Delhi and other business and publishing centers of Hindustan. That external influence should also form part of another study.

After the decline of the Mughal authority, Punjab disintegrated politically into small territorial units ruled by local chiefs. Prominent among them was Maharaja Ranjit Singh who united most of Western Punjab in early 1800s. His political and military authority stretched from Peshawar to Kashmir to the Sutlej River. The princely states in eastern Punjab lying between Lahore and Delhi allied themselves with the British, permitting British garrisons to be stationed as far west as Ludhiana and Ferozepur. Treaties formalized the Sutlej River as the boundary between the territories of the British and Maharaja Ranjit Singh. After the Maharaja's death in 1839, his heirs found it difficult to control their army, the Khalsa. The new rulers of Lahore twice provoked the British into war. The First Anglo Sikh War (1845-46) resulted among other conditions in a number of British administrators and soldiers being positioned in several districts and cities of Western Punjab. The Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49) led to the annexation of Punjab as a province of the British Indian Empire. Punjab was divided into native princely states scattered among territories administered directly by the British.

The urban centers in Western Punjab consisted of Lahore (provincial capital), Amritsar (religious center for the Sikhs), Sialkot and Gujarat (both commercial centers), Rawalpindi (military and government center for the area west of the Indus River), Multan (commercial and administrative center), and Lyallpur an industrial center in the Canal Colonies created after the arrival of the British. Considerable parts of Western Punjab were deserts in the 1840s. The British supervised the reconstruction and expansion of canals once maintained by the Mughals. The production of such agricultural cash crops as cotton led to prosperity. New villages, towns, and cities appeared in the twentieth century.

compelled in the exercise of its powers and the discharge of its duties, under Section 19 of the University Act, to order a thorough inquiry into the whole matter.

* * *

This resolution deals with . . . the general principles on which the University was founded, as regulating the application of funds which have been subscribed without any express direction by the donors as to the precise objects to which the money was to be devoted.

* * *

5. In 1865, in accordance with the orders of Sir Donald McLeod, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the Director of Public Instruction was addressed on the subject of the creation and extension of a Vernacular Literature, with special reference to the facilities afforded by the extension of English Education for transfusing into the languages of the country the knowledge, literature and science of the West. The Director of Public Instruction was requested to submit such suggestions as might occur to him after communicating with others interested in such subjects and capable of advising. His Honour's letter was immediately taken up with great keenness and intelligence by the Anjumans or Literary Societies of Lahore and Amritsar, who under the guidance of Dr. Leitner, greatly enlarged on the suggestions made by the Lieutenant-Governor and proposed that an institution to be called the "Oriental University" should be established at Lahore, for the special encouragement of the study of Oriental languages and learning and the formation of a vernacular literature. The suggestion appears to have been first thrown out in an address by Dr. Leitner to the native gentlemen of Lahore at a Special Meeting of the Anjuman held in August 1865. At a subsequent meeting held on 11th September 1865, a rough draft of a Scheme for an Oriental University was submitted by Dr. Leitner, and approved, subject to the sanction and support of Government, as the most practical, and for its vastness the most economical manner in which the Lieutenant-Governor's views could be carried into lasting effect. The scheme was further elaborated in a second paper prepared by Dr. Leitner for the consideration of the native gentlemen of Lahore and Amritsar and approved by them.

6. On 27th September 1865, a European Committee of Support was formed and it was resolved that this Committee should meet the Committee of Native Gentlemen to discuss with them the best means for obtaining funds, the arrangements proposed by the University

Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 are offered only as indicators of trends. Demographic information on Punjab from decennial *Census of India* is not always broken down finely enough to allow a study of sections of the Province. Also the boundaries of territorial units and the criteria of categories, such as literacy, have changed over time.

Table 1.1
POPULATION OF PUNJAB 1855-1931

| Year | British Territory (millions) | Punjab States (millions) | Total (millions) |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1855 | 13.8 | 3.8 | 17.6 |
| 1868 | 15.8 | — | — |
| 1881 | 16.9 | 3.9 | 20.8 |
| 1891 | 18.7 | 4.3 | 23.0 |
| 1901 | 19.9 | 4.4 | 24.3 |
| 1911 | 19.6 | 4.2 | 23.8 |
| 1921 | 20.7 | 4.4 | 25.1 |
| 1931 | 23.6 | 4.9 | 28.5 |

Source: "Total Population of the Punjab in Millions" *Census of India 1931* (Delhi: Government of India, 1932), Vol. 17, Part I, p. 15.

It is evident from the foregoing data that since the turn of the present century, Punjab showed signs of its fledging out of its cloistered life as it came into closer contacts with the outside world. The Canal Colonies depended on water from other areas and on foreign markets to sell their cash crops. The Colonies and the government centers of Lahore and Rawalpindi responded the most to new opportunities. Growth of population and increases in literacy are signs of their response and a very apt analysis of the relationships in population, literacy and political change is given by Karl W. Deutsch.¹

The literacy figures indicate that the male literacy shot up to ten percent in military and administrative centers; elsewhere five to eight percent was normal. The rate of increase in female literacy was more or less constant and almost doubled every decade. The pattern of English language literacy is interesting. The major centers of Lahore, Amritsar, and Rawalpindi tripled and quadrupled during the period of thirty years 1901-1931. Lyallpur the new industrial center, also showed this pattern. Multan and Sialkot, however, only doubled. In women's English literacy, Multan had no percentage increase between 1901-1931. As the historian John C.B. Webster² has

538. One hundred and fifty-six newspapers and periodicals were published in Lahore and 43 in Amritsar. The other centres of activity were Simla (14), Gurdaspur District (10), Sialkot (7), Rawalpindi (6), Gujarat, Ferozepur and Gujranwala (5 each) and Jullundur (4).

539. The total circulation per issue of all papers was, as far as could be ascertained, about 246,000, as compared with about 270,000 and 284,000 in 1916 and 1915 respectively . . .

* * *

541. The decrease in the circulation of newspapers may be attributed to the increased cost of paper and printing requirements owing to the war, though it is probable that at no time was the newspaper-reading public so large, popular interest being stimulated by political events.

542. The total number of declarations under sections 4 and 5 of Act XXV of 1867 filed during the year was 288 ; 61 presses being declared or re-declared under section 4, and 227 newspapers under section 5.

543. Security was demanded on 26 occasions by District Magistrates on original declaration or on re-declaration or by varying a previous order. In three of these cases, the demand was made on re-declaration owing to the objectionable tone of the papers concerned. No demand was made by the Local Government in the year under report.

544. Action under the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules 1915, was confined to the imposition of pre-censorship on the *Sita a-i-Subah* (daily and weekly). An order was also issued to all newspapers in the province prohibiting the publication of any account of the proceedings of the meeting held at Lahore on the 28th June 1917 to protest against the Madras internments, but it was subsequently cancelled.

545. Formal warnings were administered through District Magistrates to newspapers and periodicals as follows :

- (a) Seven for publishing articles open to exception on political grounds.
- (b) Five for writings calculated to arouse sectarian ill-feeling or religious animosity.

Table 12
PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY IN PUNJAB 1881-1931

| Year | Punjab (Whole) | North West Dry Area | Lahore District | Amritsar District | Sialkot City | Rawalpindi City | Simla City |
|--------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| 1881 | | | | | | | |
| Male | 60 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 50 | 80 | 200 |
| Female | 01 | 01 | 04 | 03 | 02 | 03 | 58 |
| 1891 | | | | | | | |
| Male | 70 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 70 | 100 | 220 |
| Female | 02 | 02 | 06 | 04 | 03 | 06 | 75 |
| 1901 | | | | | | | |
| Male | 60 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 50 | 90 | 220 |
| Female | 03 | 03 | 07 | 05 | 03 | 09 | 85 |
| 1911 | | | | | | | |
| Male | 60 | 60 | 100 | 70 | 50 | 100 | 240 |
| Female | 06 | 05 | 26 | 08 | 05 | 20 | 131 |
| 1921 | | | | | | | |
| Male | 60 | 50 | 100 | 70 | 60 | 120 | 210 |
| Female | 08 | 06 | 23 | 08 | 08 | 19 | 156 |
| 1931 | | | | | | | |
| Male | 80 | 70 | 140 | 100 | 60 | 150 | 270 |
| Female | 13 | 10 | 39 | 22 | 11 | 31 | 92 |

NB The North West Dry Area is a region defined by the census takers in terms of physical geography, not by administrative or political characteristics. Most of the Western Punjab is contained within this North West Dry Area and in fact demographically dominates this area.

Source "Literacy" *Census of India 1931*, (Delhi: Government of India 1932) Vol 17, Part 1, p 267

for industrial schools, three members nominated by the Director of Industries, Punjab, were co-opted in 1929 for the first time.

In the selection of books, the Committee is influenced entirely by the educational needs of the province and its policy has been to encourage the private author and publisher when their publications reach the standard set up by the Committee as regards literary value, methods of treatment, artistic merit, general get-up and price. The general quality of the works submitted was not up to the standard looked for in school text-books, and consequently the Department drew the attention of the Committee to the growing evil of a swelling list of books approved by the Committee either as prescribed texts or alternative texts or additional reading, and requesting that in future only such books may be recommended for inclusion in the Book Circular as, in the opinion of the Committee, possess outstanding merits, and in regard to which the Committee is prepared, if required to prove and justify its recommendations. The letter was considered by the Committee and it was decided that (1) no new books should be recommended for adoption as text-books unless they had some distinctive merit in comparison with the books already prescribed; (2) reviews on the merits of new books should be obtained as compared with those already on the list of authorised text-books; and (3) recognised books should be reviewed at the end of every three years with a view to removing inferior publications.

The total number of books dealt with by the Committee during the quinquennium was 2,341 as compared with 1,779 considered during the previous five years. Of these, 2,341 considered by the Committee, 1,271 were approved. The extent to which the Committee has encouraged private authors and publishers will be seen from the fact that during the five years no less than 129 books were recommended for approval as text-books, 38 retained on the list of books approved for use in schools as alternative text-books, 36 for supplementary reading, 795 for school libraries and class libraries, 76 for prizes, 44 for teachers' libraries, 21 were recommended for awards from the Patronage of Literature Fund for the production of good and useful vernacular literature, 44 purchased for presentation to school libraries, 8 recommended for the libraries of girls' schools, 12 placed in the Reference Library of the Committee and 2 recommended for the libraries of training institutions.

Since the inception of the scheme of translation of English books into the vernaculars in 1924, Rs. 60,862-11-8 has been spent on the work.

Table 1.3
PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY IN ENGLISH IN PUNJAB 1901-1931
(per 10,000)

| Year | Punjab (Whole) | North West Dry Area | Lahore District | Amritsar District | Sialkot City | Rawalpindi City | Simla City | Multan City | Lyalpur City |
|--------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1901 | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 71 | 46 | 219 | 74 | 72 | 227 | 859 | 112 | 35 |
| Female | 7 | 3 | 35 | 9 | 6 | 27 | 775 | 12 | 3 |
| 1911 | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 92 | 54 | 374 | 116 | 104 | 367 | 1,160 | 120 | 55 |
| Female | 12 | 4 | 82 | 12 | 4 | 59 | 1,221 | 15 | 4 |
| 1921 | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 118 | 70 | 459 | 148 | 138 | 420 | 1,129 | 85 | 104 |
| Female | 12 | 4 | 66 | 11 | 12 | 73 | 1,310 | 12 | 4 |
| 1931 | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 188 | 126 | 623 | 290 | 182 | 778 | 1,107 | 162 | 193 |
| Female | 19 | 9 | 123 | 47 | 24 | 96 | 352 | 12 | 17 |

Source: "Literacy in English" *Census of India 1931*, (Delhi: Government of India, 1932), Vol. 17, Part I, p. 265.

MAGAZINES

| | No. of Magazines | Cost | | |
|---------|------------------|--------|----|----|
| | | Rs. | A. | P |
| 1927-28 | 14 | 9,458 | 5 | 0 |
| 1928-29 | 13 | 9,281 | 9 | 10 |
| 1929-30 | 21 | 12,224 | 7 | 2 |
| 1930-31 | 24 | 15,160 | 2 | 3 |
| 1931-32 | 26 | 14,525 | 3 | 0 |
| Total | | 61,249 | 11 | 3 |

A=Anna
P=Pice

During the quinquennium, the Committee presented to the educational institutions and village libraries books and periodicals of the value of Rs. 1,36,657-6-4 as compared with Rs. 45,162 for the previous five years.

During the year 1928-29, the Committee purchased at a cost of Rs. 5,737 a portable cinema machine and cinema films on educational subjects with a view to giving cinema shows to school children. The services of a Cinema Demonstrator were secured with effect from the 1st of October, 1929, and during the next six months he showed films to 35,400 boys and girls at stations where electric current was available as the machine can not work without electricity. As this experiment proved very popular, the Committee decided to engage the Cinema Demonstrator for another year during which period films were shown to no less than sixty thousand boys and girls. Besides visiting schools and colleges, the Cinema Demonstrator showed films under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A., the S.P.S.K., Rural Uplift Committee, Moga, and the Museum Lectures Committee. The work at Simla aroused such interest that both R.A.F. Headquarters and the Police Department asked for the loan of films for exhibition to members of their staffs. There can be no doubt whatever that this experiment is a success and that this modern method of education by the showing of films is very greatly appreciated in the Punjab as it is in western countries. Consequently, the Committee has now made the appointment of the Cinema Demonstrator permanent. The Committee has set an example in India which is almost certain to be followed in other provinces. The Committee now possesses 154 Cine Kodak Films on various educational subjects, viz., General Science, Geography, Travels, Sports and a few Comics, a classified list of which is being printed.

pointed out that a significant portion of women, literate in English, was that of Christians. According to the *Census of India 1911*, the break-up of total female literates in English in Punjab was

| | |
|-----------|-------|
| Christian | 1,157 |
| Hindu | 1,296 |
| Muslim | 380 |
| Sikh | 27 |

The ratio between urban and rural populations remained fairly constant between 1881-1931. Eighty-seven to ninety percent of the population of Punjab was rural. Urban growth was faster in the British territories (from two million to three million) than in the princely states and the fastest of all in Western Punjab. Between 1881-1931, the percentage increase in population in five cities was as follows

| | |
|------------|-------|
| Amritsar | 74 % |
| Lahore | 188 % |
| Multan | 74 % |
| Rawalpindi | 125 % |
| Sialkot | 120 % |

These five largest cities in Punjab were all in the western section of the province. The ten largest new towns and cities founded between 1849 and 1931 were located in Western Punjab. Lyallpur, Sargodha and Mianwali were the largest of these towns and they prospered within the Canal Colonies.

The increase in literacy is an indication of the adoption by the Punjabis, especially urban dwellers, of print as a medium of communication. Literacy is an expensive and time-consuming skill to acquire. Yet for eight percent of the Punjabi males and for one percent of Punjabi females the reward for being literate was sufficient to justify investment of resources. Since literacy must precede the use of print as a mass medium and since literacy rates were also under ten percent, it is obvious that print was not a universal and direct form of communication; rather it supplemented the traditional and oral modes of communication. Also the printed material complimented the manuscript systems, including letter writing which was facilitated by the British postal system. Still the impact of print even before 1901, when literacy in the districts of Lahore and Amritsar was only seven percent for males, must not be underestimated.

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Western Punjabis began a century-long process of adopting and adapting press when it was first introduced to them in the early 1800s. Their actions lead us to wonder at the process of adoption by any society of both specifically the printing press as well as of other communication innovations. The influence of the social environment on this process of adoption is particularly interesting.

The social environment which we will observe was that of a colonial society where the colonized people were introduced to an innovation by the dominant society. Western Punjabis during the century following 1849 were a conquered people, a part of the British Indian Empire. The press with the print communication system which the British and the West had evolved, was only one of the many innovations, technological and others that the British introduced. The colonial situation had an influence in many ways on the actions and responses of both the master and the subject communities. By quickly viewing the relationship between the British and Punjab in the second quarter of the 1800s, we can point out several aspects needing attention.

In the late 1700s, the centralized Mughal control of North India became increasingly nominal as the Mughal Empire started heading fast towards a collapse. In 1757, the British assumed effective control on the Mughal Bengal. The Punjab, especially the western sections, passed over to the care of numerous Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh local rulers. By the early 1800s, the British had advanced westward up the Ganges Valley, through Hindustan, until only a portion of Delhi remained subject to the Mughal Emperor. In 1849, the Second Anglo-Sikh War ended, thereby, the British annexing the whole of Punjab.

During the century prior to 1849, the principal agent of British power in India, the East India Company, had also undergone metamorphosis. The East India Company was a centrally administered trading monopoly when it was composed of semi-dependent traders. While these merchants ruled Bengal and Orissa in the name of the Mughal Emperor, their organization developed characteristics of a government and broadened its activities and policies. By 1849, the Company was forced to come under increasing restrictions imposed by the British Parliament and the Crown. The trading monopoly in time was dissolved so that other British and, later, international traders could carry out their business in India. The ban on missionary activities was also dropped so that the Christian missionaries, both British and American, could preach in South Asia. Several groups introduced the printing press into Western Punjab. The British

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businessmen were also among them. In the Punjab of 1850s, the British entrepreneurs appeared as individual editors, printers, and journalists seeking employment. They acted as a source of technical knowledge, managerial skills and attitudes.

Another source of print was the British official, the administrators of the Empire. They were often bureaucrats busy establishing both internal communication lines within a rapidly expanding government and external lines of communication to the subjects of the empire. A third source of innovation were the Indians themselves who had already been conquered. The Bengalis played important and key role in the expansion of British power in India. Many of these Indians had been educated in Western-modelled schools where English was the only medium of instruction. In time, they became clerks, soldiers, lawyers, ministers, and instructors. These people added to the limited personnel pool that the British could draw on to staff the command posts of the Empire. While they were being useful to their masters, these Indians were struggling with the cultural implications of being subjects of Christian, European masters. A fourth origin of European innovation were the American and European missionaries. These men and women came specifically to teach, to change the minds and religious loyalties of the Indians. Their goal was both specific, being mostly cultural, and yet so very broad including modification of attitudes, emotions, and beliefs. The zeal and talents of these missionaries made them effective agents of change.

All these four sources of innovations—the merchants, the British officials, the Indians of the Empire, and the missionaries—were committed to, or at least, absorbed by the idea of the British Indian Empire. This orientation shaped how they shared their ideas. Whether they exposed the Punjabis to all innovations, or encouraged them to assimilate the Western culture wholesale without modification, or whether they introduced the change in elemental forms for adaptation to Punjabi patterns was determined by the ideals and realities of the Empire. Who was to be exposed, for how long, and to what purposes, all had to be answered with the interests of the Empire in mind.

Controversy arose about differing answers because visions of the Empire varied. Some saw the Empire as being solely British and Christian. Others had visions of a cosmopolitan entity of many faiths and heritages. Still most British officials and businessmen, South Asians, and missionaries worked and planned by the light of their conception of the British Empire. Because of the importance of

the imperial situation, the adoption of the innovation of the printing press in Western Punjab was essentially one of intrusion. Not only were the outsiders the initial source of the innovation, but the pressure of imperial politics also intensified their role as intruders. Even when these sources of printing operated in Western Punjab prior to the annexation of the province, the threat of conquest tinged their relationship with the Punjabis.

This intrusive process of adoption was three-staged. First, there was a period of introduction when the Punjabis attempted to use the printing press because they sought, in general, to master the British ways. While these new methods may not have appeared to Indians as being completely superior to Asian ways, the British ways were apparently a source of British political and economic strength. Punjabi students in Western-styled schools, orphans and prisoners in Anglo institutions, and candidates for employment in the service of the Empire used the press, or at least worked as printers, managers and so forth, in order to prosper individually within a British dominated system. A second stage was the attempted adaptation of the Punjabi culture to the printing press and in this stage, indigenous patterns were tailored to fit a British system. During the third stage, the Punjabis without British urging adapted the printing press to meet specific Punjabi needs. Here the press was used as a tool on its own merits, as an effective medium of mass communication and not merely because the British used it. In the final stage, the Punjabis could employ the printing press and print because their own society had been changed by having been a province of a modern empire. The Punjabis used foreign innovations as tools, not merely because they were new toys, or as signs of subservience and willingness to become western, but rather because those innovations were useful tools.

These stages of adoption came to be unfolded during the century of British rule in Punjab. The publishing industry of Western Punjab grew from a few hand-operated presses to include printing factories capable of publishing hundreds of thousands of pages daily. This physical growth has impressed observers almost as much as the warmth of the memory of publishers like Zafar Ali Khan, Pandit Lekh Ram, and others who contended with each other and with the British during the struggle for independence. Names like Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Akalis, Ahmadiyya, Unionist Party, Muslim League, and the Congress Party radiate images of what the Western Punjab was like before independence. The impact of such things is hard to measure. But part of the reason for the fire and brimstone

that flowed from Western Punjabi presses was that in the process of socialization of the press *i.e.* learning to use the press and print, the Punjabis were also adapting print as a medium of communication to satisfy their own needs³

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- 1 Karl W Deutsch, *National and Social Communication* (New York. John Wiley, 1953)
- 2 John C B Webster, *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India* (New Delhi: Macmillan 1976), pp 228-230
- 3 Some of the individuals who acted as sources of the introduction of the printing press into Western Punjab would be considered by Everett M Rogers in his *Diffusion of Innovations* (New York: Free Press 1962) as change agents

"In some cases individuals with influence in the social system are professional persons representing organizations external to the systems. A change agent is a professional person who attempts to influence adoption decisions in a direction that he feels is desirable" p 17

Also see Everett M Rogers, *Communication of Innovations* (New York: Free Press 1971), Chapter 7, pp 226-249. The latter is the second edition of *Diffusion of Innovations*. Perhaps because the Punjabi situation was a colonial one, the early adopters apparently had characteristics different than those listed by Rogers who has put forth five features for comparison of early and later adopters:

- (a) Age *i.e.* early adopters are younger,
- (b) Social Status *i.e.* early adopters are higher
- (c) Financial Position *i.e.* early adopters are richer,
- (d) Specialization *i.e.* early adopters are more specialized,
- (e) Mental Ability *i.e.* early adopters are more intelligent

Rogers *Diffusion*, pp 172-178

EARLY PIONEERS MISSIONARIES AND GOVERNMENT

THE Christian mission churches and the British rulers of Imperial India are the pioneers in introducing the sleeping Western Punjab to the press, an endeavor laden with immense potential. On the face of it, this process may appear just as simple as the induction of a mechanical device but the latent and inherent values of the process left lasting imprints on the intellectual life of the region as also on the history of publishing in Punjab. These two pioneers of innovation will be studied first because they appeared in Punjab immediately after annexation and both of them were richly imbued with experience with the press. These two institutions encouraged the development of the Punjabi press by transmitting necessary technological innovations and by financing the new publishing enterprises. The Government and the churches also demonstrated to the Punjabis as to how the press could be used for recording and communicating within large organizations as well as for mass communication outside these organizations. From Christians and Imperial servants, the Punjabis learned to build such print support systems as schools, libraries, and retail networks for disseminating printed materials. The impact of the activities of British officials and the American and British missionaries in the early 1830s was an instance of innovation spread by diffusion.

The motives of the missionaries, especially, affected this process. Many of the missionaries before leaving their homeland admired print as a tool with which to popularize and purify religion. These heirs of the Protestant Reformation and of Gutenberg were confident that the power of Christ would work through print, that those

who read Scripture could receive the Gift of Faith through the "Word"

From the earliest missionaries in British India including the famous William Carey (1761-1834) through the first missionaries in Punjab, to many later Western Punjabi missionaries, all shared a belief in the intrinsic utility of print. The cooperative relationship between Punjabi officials and missionaries is analogous to the situation under Warren Hastings in Bengal between 1796 and 1834 when the Fort William College was established at Calcutta to impart a foreign culture to students. In Fort William College, the students were Europeans learning about India and not Indians learning about Europe. Since the missionaries were banned from British India in those days, Reverend William Carey located his school and presses in a nearby Danish enclave. The College administrators needed his linguistic skills and knowledge of local languages for teaching vernacular languages. Carey was summoned to Calcutta to teach Sanskrit and Bengali and to provide textbooks and printed copies of vernacular texts from his presses. Out of the need of British administrators for trained educators emerged the closer and more friendly relations with local missionaries. Carey's sphere of influence was at Calcutta whereas Reverend Joseph Warren, an American Presbyterian missionary who arrived in India in 1839, established a mission press at Allahabad in United Provinces and he supervised it for twelve years. He left India in 1854 only to return in 1872 and he died in 1877. In his autobiography, Warren has recorded that around 1838 he was asked to set up a Press because of his lay experience as printer and journalist. In 1856, he wrote

"I still believe that the press was as important to our operations at that time as I thought it to be, and but little less so now, and that carrying it on is a business most honorable and useful."¹

The first annual report of the Western Foreign Missionary Society of the Synod of Pittsburgh of the Presbyterian Church in the USA stated that among the reasons they sent their missionaries to India was "its facilities for the diffusion of religious knowledge through the press."² John C. Lowrie and William Reed (died 1834), two theological students who were the first to respond to the American Presbyterian call, wrote in 1834 that the second of their aims was the "Preparation of Books, including especially the translation of Sacred Scripture and the distribution of them."³ Western Punjab may have started its first century of printing three hundred to four hundred years later than Europe, but the zeal and drive that motivated the British and American missionaries and the advanced level of the Western technology introduced compensated for this.

Michael A. Laird in *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837* delved into the history of this enthusiasm. He found that in Britain several religious groups stressed education as being important to enable individuals to read the Bible.⁴ In Wales, eighteenth century Welsh educators concerned with the salvation of souls used the native Welsh in place of English as print language. The pupils were taught first to read Welsh and then handed a Welsh Bible. Catechisms, tracts, and devotional works were used in Sunday schools, the only school for many. These religious minded men and women by using printed Welsh as a medium aided the survival of that language, of modern Welsh literature, and the accompanying political nationalism.⁵

In India, this dual process to use print in general as a tool for the Lord and the vernacular in particular as media for Christ's words was common among such early missionaries as William Carey of Serampore. This prodigy of a man set up presses for printing religious works, proceeded to master various Indian languages in order to translate Christian works and designed new type needed to print Indian scripts. His example was followed and magnified by others. The missionaries in Punjab had among their first tasks to learn Hindustani and either Punjabi or one of the other many Northwestern Indian languages and dialects. A particular church mission in Punjab required its new missionaries to pass the language examinations before giving them the right to vote in mission matters.⁶

Thus, the future of publishing in Punjab was heavily influenced by the missionaries. This was true partly because the enthusiasm of the missionary for print was based on a concern for the general culture of those who were to be saved. Reverend Warren has put it very succinctly :

"The want of a good literature, using the word in its broadest sense, is one of the greatest hindrances to the work of conversion."⁷

Thus instead of merely setting up presses for publishing religious translations, the missionaries integrated the press into their educational system which extended from primary to college education. Again to quote Warren :

"Every missionary who has any leisure for it and who acquires sufficient skill in the languages used in his field of labour, will desire to do something to bring the power of the press to bear upon the mass of evil around him."⁸

The religious press was used to publish general newspapers and books,

Religious leaders compiled dictionaries and grammars used later by Indians to standardize their language. The part played by the missionaries in modern Punjabi linguistics is prominent. Mohindar Pal Kohli in *The Influence of the West on Punjabi Literature* writes that first translation of any Western book into Punjabi was the *Punjabi New Testament* translated by Reverend William Carey in 1811. It was the first Punjabi language book in type print of Gurmukhi script. It served as a basis for modern Punjabi prose writing, spelling, word formation and stabilization of the ever-changing Gurmukhi script. The first Punjabi grammar was written by Munshi Kanshi Ram Khatri in 1810. The first published grammar was Carey's in 1812. Captain Starkey's dictionary and grammar followed in 1849. John Newton's *Idiomatic Sentences in English and Panjabi* (1846), *A Grammar of Panjabi Language* (1851) and *Panjabi Language Dictionary* (1854) were the first such works as were produced in Punjab itself. Carey's and Starkey's works were compiled and printed in Bengal. Among the other nineteenth century grammatical works were Reverend T J L. Mayer's *English and Baluchi Dictionary*, Reverend G. Shurt's *Brahui and English Dictionary* and a *Sindhi Dictionary*, a *Jaki Dictionary*, author unknown, Reverend T R. Wade's *Kashmiri Dictionary*, Dr Elmslie's *Kashmiri Vocabulary*, O'Brien's *Multan Glossary*. It is also noticeable that the missionaries lobbied on many issues from script reform to lowering postal rates on printed matter.⁹ In the missionary, the Punjabi publisher had an ally and that too a powerful ally.

The source of this power lay in the missionary's relationship with the British imperial administrators. For Punjabi publishing, an important aspect of the missionary's zeal for print was the widespread and active support given by the officials of the Empire to publishing and educational labours of the missionary in Punjab. Some officials were religious and a few became labourers for Christ after retiring from civil or military service, many others were impressed and motivated more by the broader cultural goods of the missionary's program than by its religious aspects. Still all this meant that the officials in Punjab were often generous patrons of religious enterprises.

Writing of the early British administrators of Punjab beginning with Henry Lawrence, the President of the Board of Administrators, Robert Clark of the Church Missionary Society observed

"They were men who honored God, and who were, therefore, men who were themselves honored of God, and they speedily rose to great distinction. They were men who, in their simple faith towards

God, never hesitated to let the success of their administration, and their personal credit and position, depend on the results of their Christian action and example. They, therefore, became many of them the founders of our Punjab Missions. They were willing to stand or fall, and to let our empire stand or fall, on this issue. And they stood, and they prospered; and the empire also stood and prospered under their administration."¹⁰

British officials felt that they needed allies to hold as well as to extend the empire. Before 1849, the Eastern Punjab was only a foothold for the British in the Indian regions west of Delhi. The Eastern Punjab itself was secured for the British only by scattered garrisons stationed in the princely states seeking British protection from Maharaja Ranjit Singh and other non-European aggressors. The royal exiles from Afghanistan and elsewhere lived on British pensions and promises in towns like Ludhiana. Officers, such as Colonel C.N. Wade,¹¹ Superintendent of Sikh and Hill Affairs, tried in Ludhiana to use European culture and recent military victories outside of Punjab to supplement British authority and even encourage British influence across the Sutlej River in the early 1830s.

Wade had several missionaries to assist him. The 1833 Charter for the East India Company not only opened India to the traders of most countries but also to the missions of all Christian churches. American Presbyterians were the first to arrive in Punjab and they landed at Ludhiana in 1834. Soon the Church Mission Society of the Church of England followed in 1852. The American Presbyterians and the Church Mission Society were the most influential missions in Western Punjab. The Church of Scotland, United Presbyterians of America, Baptists, Methodists, and Catholics also came.¹² Thus when the British needed personnel to promote the study of the English language and literature in Northern India, the missionaries were readily available in good number.

When Superintendent Wade heard that a newly-arrived party of American Presbyterian missionaries had reached Calcutta in 1833, looking for a location to start their work, he encouraged them to come to Ludhiana. Wade had started a school which was handed over to Reverend Lowrie on his arrival in Punjab in 1836. When more missionaries arrived, Lowrie and others were able to persuade Wade to relinquish the remaining control over the school.¹³ Reverend Lowrie had good reason to write in his autobiography :

"Nor could I fail to be grateful to those Europeans of the Station, and particularly to the Political Agent, Captain Wade, who in this

instance as in all others proved a cordial and efficient friend to our mission "14

The efficiency of Wade is still apparent even after a century and a half of his times. Colonel Wade did not just donate any school. The Ludhiana school was strategically located not only to forward imperial ambitions but also to advance the work of Christians.

Ludhiana was a frontier post only five miles from the Sutlej River, the boundary between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the British. There were the courts of two former Afghan rulers in Ludhiana who lived on British pensions and hoped of returning home. Thus the Punjabis, the Afghans, and the Pathans sent their children to Wade's school to learn the language of the new rulers. As a consequence of Wade's actions, these students came under the influence of American Presbyterians.¹⁵

Soon Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent for Reverend Lowrie to persuade him to open a school under the aegis of the court of Lahore. The Maharaja wanted a palace school for some of the young Punjabi nobles. This was a part of the Maharaja's program of modernization which had worked so well in his army. Lowrie, however, was too ill to start the school.¹⁶ Also, the Maharaja and Lowrie may have disagreed over the inclusion of Christianity in the curriculum.¹⁷ Even with the apparent failure to establish a palace school, the policy of spreading modern ways advanced. Even the short contact that Lowrie had with the Sikh court had an impact. Lowrie recorded in his autobiography that while on a hunting trip near Lahore, he mentioned in the presence of the Maharaja "that if the *Granth* were a printed book it would not cost probably more than twenty rupees. This remark the Maharaja repeated in court, and it became the subject of a good deal of conversation. A manuscript copy costs from one to two hundred rupees."¹⁸ Two presses may have been set up in Lahore and in a town near Gujranwala. They, however, may also have been used to print material displeasing His Majesty's Government and as such these presses are reported to have been destroyed.¹⁹

Although the presses appeared a mixed blessing to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, yet the other Punjabis also realized their value. People with fewer resources than a king found that the economy of the hand-press placed a printing press within their reach. A common statement in official reports, censuses, and personal writings duplicate Reverend Warren's statement of 1856:

"Little lithographic presses have sprung up all over the country in

great numbers, for printing Urdu and Persian books. These grow up like mushrooms, and often fail like them too."²⁰

In the Punjab of 1851, there were presses in at least Lahore, Bhera, and Kapurthala.²¹

Official assistance for the missionaries did not cease with Captain Wade's aid. Later, other administrators lent their support to missionary efforts. The Board of Administration controlled Punjab since the Anglo-Sikh wars till 1853. The President of the Board, Henry Lawrence, sent a letter of welcome to the missionaries of the Church Mission Society when they first arrived. He donated an annual subscription of five hundred rupees.²² Another member of the Board and later Chief Commissioner of Punjab from 1853 until after the 1857 uprising was Henry's brother, John Lawrence, who wrote :

"I believe that what more tended to stir up the Indian Mutiny than anything was the habitual cowardice of Great Britain as to her own religion."²³

Charles Wood, Minister of State for India, whose education dispatch could release thousands of Government rupees to finance mission schools, believed that :

"Every additional Christian in India is an additional bond of union with England, and an additional source of strength to the Empire."²⁴

Later, Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab also gave his encouragement to mission schools.²⁵ Early the mission churches and houses were designed and built by officers and administrators. The Punjab Missionary Association's lay members included civil and military officers.²⁶ In 1846, some British officers and civilians in India urged the Church Mission Society to send missionaries to Punjab even before its annexation in 1849. Major Martin, an officer in the army of the East India Company in Lahore, sent ten thousand rupees to the Church Mission Society in 1850 by way of the American Presbyterian Mission to support a Punjab mission.²⁷ The symbolic zenith of the hopes of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Maharaja Dalip Singh was baptized as a Christian. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India at the time, was optimistic that more Punjabis would become Christians.²⁸ Armed with the support of the Government and with their own spirit of dedication, the missionaries came to Punjab to save souls for Christ.

To aid them, they brought a technological tool, the printing

press with them. Because the Christians were few and the unconverted many, and also because the missionaries had as their goal the conversion of the entire populace of Punjab, therefore, the missionaries needed a mass medium. They needed one that was incorruptible, that is, a medium which did not distort messages during transmission. This left out most oral chain-systems, such as those that carry rumours or folk tales. Open air preaching to large crowds was possible but was insufficient. Personal contact had to be supplemented. This supplement had to be an honorable medium. Communication media as well as people have degrees of honor attached to them.

Fortunately, the print medium satisfied most of these conditions. The press could make many copies, sufficient enough it needed for the masses in Punjab. A printed piece delivered (within limitations) the same message whether it had been previously handled by hostile or friendly hands, ignorant or knowledgeable hands. Print material could be distributed in person thus extending symbolically the personal contact and presence of the giver. Print was a respectable medium. Many of Punjab's elites had put in considerable amounts of their energy into learning how to read and write. Written works were the depository of valuable financial and legal records, of cultural measures, and of religious heritages. The Muslims had their *Quran* and *Hadiths*, the Sikhs their *Granth Sahib*, and the Hindus their *Vedas* and *Epics*.

For the missionaries, the two deciding factors in favour of print were that it was within their capacity to produce printed works and that they themselves attached status to being capable with print. By the 1880s, the missionaries had evolved an effective print communication system that would survive many trials with modest expenditure. The earliest missionaries were foundation layers because of their ability to adapt and learn in the field.

On the technical side, the missionaries were able to bring to Western Punjab the necessary equipment: the press, type, ink, and paper. They found young Punjabis and many a times, orphans, living in their own orphanages, who became apprentices, journeymen, and finally master printers with apprentices of their own.²⁹ Because the missionaries felt no need to control continually the technical aspects, after they had trained Indians adequately, the mission often turned the shop and the press entirely over to their trainees. The relationship then became mainly a commercial one. The network of mission-initiated shops, therefore, became decentralized.

Another technical factor, the variety of type created by missionaries, also contributed to decentralization. In the churchmen's

eagerness to communicate with all nations through each nation's own script, the missionary printers invented either a type or a lithographic manner of matching many hand-produced, Indian scripts. In the 1870s, the Church Mission Society even adapted braille for Urdu and Hindi. After this initial zeal, the missionaries tried to concentrate on producing works in only a few scripts and attempted to push script reform so that Urdu, Punjabi, and Hindi would all be written in a Roman script. But the original eagerness to produce a print script for each manuscript, alphabet enabled the Indians to borrow and use type produced by the missionaries. Long after the missionaries themselves were concentrating their efforts on promoting the sole use of Roman script in place of various indigenous forms.

Although the mission societies could import the technology needed, they could not bring in the necessary infrastructure. Local support system were needed. Writers were essential to pen pieces to be printed. Material had to be stored and then distributed. Literacy had to be increased. The Government had to be approached for protection, favors and finance. In the very beginning before the 1857 uprising, the missionaries had only themselves as a resource pool. They had to write tracts. Individuals, such as Reverend Joseph Warren or Reese Morris who both had their training in America as printers and journalists, were selected to establish and manage printing shops and storehouses. The missionaries after preaching in the morning distributed pamphlets to those interested in what was preached, or later sold the pamphlets from their homes.

The missionaries in time were able to create and draw on Punjabi personnel pools to build a viable social organization as a part of Punjabi society. This social organization, the community of the Punjabis who belonged to what, for instance, became the Presbyterian Church of India, was, of course, not built to cater to the needs of the printing press. Many structures and roles, however, were added to the Church so that the press could function and have a social and cultural impact.

As pointed out earlier, the apprentices were recruited from Christian orphanages. Just after the missionaries became established in Punjab, there were several famines resulting in a large number of orphans. Although the Bengalis and the Hindustanis were the first Indians to be hired in Punjabi missionary shops, the orphans were probably the first Punjabis to be employed. The pattern of shop organization by the missionaries can be found in the Allahabad experience of Reverend Joseph Warren and the Ludhiana work of Reverend Newton. Reverend Warren set up the American Presbyterian Press in the 1830s at

Allahabad in the United Provinces The Allahabad Press and the Ludhiana Press were among the most prestigious of the Indian Christian presses Warren devoted several pages of his autobiography to the description of the establishment of the Allahabad Press ³⁰

Warren discussed several of the problems, he had to overcome Script reform was one of his first concerns He realized that for printing Urdu, he needed three kinds of type—Persian, Arabic and Roman For Hindi and the Sanskrit, he required a *Nagri* type and a *Kaithi* type Besides this he still required the various types for English

"The work that a missionary has to perform in qualifying himself to use, and to superintend any kind of operations, in so many characters and dialects, is also not small" ³¹

Warren's first employee, a native pressmen named Chand, was introduced to Warren shortly after his arrival by "a friend, E G Fraser Esq, Assistant Secretary to the Board of Revenue, to whom we have since been indebted for many more important favours" For an apprentice, Warren turned to the mission orphan asylums John and his sister (the heroine of a missionary book, *Poor Blind Sally*) had lost their mother and were "left entirely destitute, by the most distressing circumstances" Warren took John into his house and began to teach him the printing trade Eventually, John became foreman of the shop after Warren's return to United States ³² Others were also hired, Dillu, a man "unacquainted with the business" to aid Chand and also Husain Bakhsh, "a sharp and active fellow, with sufficient learning" Two more youngmen from the asylum were taught to cast type

The printing-house itself grew from an empty corner in the Warren's bungalow to a set of independent buildings The workmen acquired new printing skills, improved old ones, and learned to work together in a large establishment ³³ Soon the press supported more than forty Indian Christians, some of whom were converts, and the others were from the orphanage Warren wrote

"Constant efforts were made to work in all the Christians, who could be procured, that were at all fit for the employment offered, in place of the heathen and Musalmans, who were necessarily employed at first" ³⁴

Warren considered the Allahabad Press a success especially because it printed so many Christian works, an average of three million pages a year Besides several editions of parts of scripture,

"a large portion of this work has been of the nature of tracts to set forth Christian truth, or to show the untruth of heathenism . . . These tracts and books are scattered amongst all missions, from Dinapore and Tirhoot to the Panjab. They have been distributed in journeys, at fairs, and at the mission stations, till they have been carried all over Upper India, and the effect of them has been felt in some of the most secluded villages in the remotest corner of the land."³⁵

Reverend Warren also believed that another indication or measure of the worth of the Allahabad Press was that the Press

"has caused the writing of books by affording facilities for publication. It is with the surest conviction of its truth that I say, that many of our most valuable treatises would not have been written or translated, had not this press been in existence."³⁶

Warren considered the researching and the composing of treatises to be a profitable use of a missionary's leisure time. This line of reasoning can also be applied to the native Punjabi use of the printing press.

The Ludhiana Press had also a similar history. Both the presses belonged to the American Presbyterian Church and were active during the same decades. Of the first group of two couples sent to Ludhiana in 1833, Reverend Lowrie alone reached Punjab. He arrived as a recent widower and was himself ill. Hence, a second party, of James Wilson and John Newton and their wives, was sent in 1836. James Wilson arrived in India in 1835 and retired in 1851. John Newton (born 1810) arrived in India in 1835 and was still active in 1881. (Four of his sons, all born in India, also served as missionaries: John Newton, Jr., M.D. (1838-1880) born in Ludhiana, Charles Beatty Newton born in 1842 in Ludhiana, Francis Janvier Newton born in 1847 in Sabathu, and Edward Payson Newton born in 1850 in Lahore). In Calcutta, Reverend William H. Pierce of the Baptist Mission Press advised Wilson and Newton to take a printing press with them. Thus the two Presbyterians received from Pierce "an old fashioned wooden press (such as were still sometimes used in those days) together with a font or two of types, paper, and printing ink." Pierce, on several occasions had also aided other missionaries going up-country. Since neither Wilson nor Newton understood printing, Pierce sent one of his own native compositors to assist them. This compositor was but the first of many Bengalis who accompanied printing equipment to Punjab.³⁷ About Christian Bengalis, Robert Clark wrote :

"The Punjab owes a great debt of gratitude especially to Dr Duff and to the Free Church of Scotland in Bengal, who have sent to the Punjab many of the most influential and useful native Christians, who are now labouring in the Punjab"³⁸

Starting with a small house in 1836, the printing office grew continually. An iron press and lithographic presses were bought in time. Wilson replaced Lowrie in the school. Newton, taking charge of the press, learned what he could from the Calcutta compositor. Then both Newton and the compositor began to teach some native apprentices. One of the apprentices, a fourteen-year old youth, learned well. The young man did especially well under Reese Morris, a later missionary who had previous experience with printing. The young apprentice became foreman and then a "grey-haired general manager." "He is almost everything that could be wished, but an open confessor of Christ"³⁹

The first piece printed from the Ludhiana Press was a Persian translation of *The Sermon on the Mount* which fascinated Imad-ud-din, a Muslim religious scholar and led to his conversion and subsequent career as a distinguished and prolific Christian apologist. Newton wrote

"At the same time, we printed for Capt Wade, the Political Agent, who has greatly helped us in every way, a small Persian Newspaper called "The Lodiana Akhbar", consisting of only four loosely printed 4to pages. Prior to the setting up of our press he had had copies of the "Akhbar" written by hand"⁴⁰

The Ludhiana Press produced works in Persian, Oordoo (Urdu), Punjabi, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Chumba-Pahari, Tibetan, and English.

"Oordoo in both the Persian and the Roman characters, Punjabee, in the Goormookhee, Hindee, in Deva Nagree character, Kashmeree, in the Persian character, somewhat modified, and the Paharee, which is a dialect of Hindee, with a mixture of Panjabee, in a character called Thajooree"⁴¹

By 1886, the Ludhiana Mission Press of all the mission presses in India printed the largest number of Urdu works but still the Punjabi language was its speciality. Herbert U Weitbrecht, a Nineteenth Century bibliographer of Urdu Christian literature, stated that the Ludhiana Press had the only good font of Gurmukhi type and the best for Persian characters in North India.⁴²

The volume of printed material from this press shop alone is

impressive. Within the first forty-eight years, approximately 267 million pages were run off. Eighteen million of these were produced under the supervision of John Newton and Reese Morris, especially under the latter. The bulk of the forty-eight years of work was carried out by Indians working independent of direct missionary supervision. The apprentice, who became the "grey-haired general manager" mentioned above came in time to own the lithographic presses. The mission had their printing done by this man on contract.

"The binding is done in the same way, the contractor in the Department being, at first, a person who has been educated in the Suharunpore Orphanage; and now, one of his sons."⁴³

The cost of all this printing was paid in part by the American Bible and Tract Society, the Punjab Bible and Religious Books Society, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, the Christian Knowledge Vernacular Education Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Hyderabad Mission. Profits also came trooping from contract work undertaken by the mission presses. The Punjab Government, the Maharaja of Kashmir, and other native rulers occasionally needed to hire the Ludhiana Press for job work.⁴⁴ The list of religious organizations that contributed to the maintenance of the Ludhiana Press hints at the cooperation that was eventually formalized after the 1857 uprising. This cooperation resulted in the Punjab Religious Books Society which grew out of a missionary conference held at Lahore in 1862. Established in 1863, this Society performed little until 1870.⁴⁵ Between 1863 and 1873, it was called the Punjab Tract Society.⁴⁶ By the 1880s, the decade when Indian religious bodies began to publish intensely, the Punjab Bible and Religious Books Society was firmly established.

Bibliographic control and storage were centralized. The examples of bibliographic control were the Weitbrecht's *Descriptive Catalogue* and the bibliographic articles in the missionary magazines such as *The Indian Evangelical Review*. The central storage area for Punjab was a depot in Lahore.⁴⁷ Publishing units of North India sent representatives to conferences, compiled catalogues of their works, tried to avoid duplication of effort and to discover weak areas in their common lists. The lists of some of the prominent missionary publishers can be found in *Conference on Urdu and Hindi Christian Literature* held at Allahabad in February 1875, and *Descriptive Catalogue*. The conferences, therefore, sometimes resulted in a work being commissioned, especially for larger tasks such as an Urdu translation of the Gospels.⁴⁸

At the Conference on Urdu and Hindi Christian Literature, a 1874

resolution of the Committee of the Christian Vernacular Education Society was introduced to the effect that general Christian vernacular books should be produced in greater numbers. The Committee in cooperation with the other societies and individuals decided to draw up lists of books that ought to be published. The Committee of the Religious Tract Society agreed with this scheme because some of the "heathen populations" of India were then being taught the art of reading in government and other vernacular schools.⁴⁹

This plan of producing lists of needed books was but one of the many ways tried by the missionaries to adapt Christian literature to the Indian reading public. The sophistication of the missionaries in increasing the impact of their publishing efforts grew from 1834 to the late 1880s. Matching format with social characteristics was considered important. Reverend T. V. French believed that books for Muslims should be "of a less controversial and more devotional and spiritual cast" and not "polemical discussion, truth in its offensive and defensive attitude."⁵⁰ A participant of the Allahabad Conference even mooted the suggestion that a Christian Hindi magazine was necessary. This format was felt to be effective in reaching into the very heart of Hinduism to teach young men "cut adrift from the old mooring without helm or compass." For the unlearned, short titles were considered the best.⁵¹ Thus, the missionaries experimented with the format.

In the 1870s from Lahore and other North Indian cities, a large number of anti-Christian works appeared which were read by the Muslims, followers of a new "advanced Muhammadanism" of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Syed Ameer Ali. The former is so well known that he needs no introduction to the reader. Syed Ameer Ali, a fellow Muslim reformer of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan from Bengal, was founder of the Central National Muhammadan Association. He was a strong advocate of English education and of the education of Indian women. These works contained new arguments which Christian clergy had to be ready to answer. The Allahabad Conference responded to this pressure by drawing up a list of materials on Islam for missionaries to help them prepare their responses.⁵²

For Hindi-speaking rural areas, the tracts in the *Kaithi* and *Mahajani* scripts were reported as being needed to supplement the use of the *Nagri* script. For Urdu works, although Arabic type and Persian lithography script were popular, the Conference predicted that a Roman script would eventually replace these native forms. The decisions of the missionaries about choices in script affected the Punjabis. For instance, large number of native Christians converted

during the rural mass movements of the late 1800s and early 1900s, were predominantly illiterate. Commenting on the education of pre-1857 Indian Christian converts, Warren wrote :

“Too much ought not to be expected of them; for the bad health that results from their early privations, and the helplessness of character that is produced by such a secluded education operate as hinderances to their usefulness.”⁵³

If taught the Roman script exclusively, they then become isolated from their fellow countrymen, from the best literary models of vernacular composition, and from wide employment opportunities.⁵⁴ Thus while lower class Punjabis at times improved their lot economically and in terms of formal, western style education, they may have missed the cultural attainment of familiarity with Urdu literature which the Punjabis in general so respected. By 1875, the missionaries had come to understand the social importance of such details as book-binding. European style binding marked a book as a Christian book. Native style bound material sold faster. Muslims, “bigoted Hindus and villagers” were likely to buy Punjabi style bound books.⁵⁵

Publishing or the mass communication system, associated with the printing press, is a complex system. The tool, the press itself, must be supplied with economic power as well as with materials such as paper and ink. Craftsmen such as printers and binders must be trained using educational resources. It is important, therefore, to understand how the press and its products have a bearing on the society.

From the beginning, the Europeans in South Asia have shown an ability to adapt technologically. New type fonts were created to imitate Indian manuscript forms. Those difficult to be handled with type were reproduced lithographically. By the late 1800s, the American and the European technological advances radiated further impacts. Steam presses lowered costs and increased the quantity printed. Telegraph cables and later wireless transmission of news would bring European and Asian events closer in time to their respective foreign audiences. In Punjab, the first radio transmitting station belonged to the Young Men's Christian Association. This further indicates that the Christian organizations even in the twentieth century still promoted the application of new technologies to mass media.

What proved more difficult than the technical difficulties were the social engineering problems that the missionaries had to face in the late 1880s. Making new type fonts was only a small portion of a total solution that the missionaries never discovered in time. By the

1880s, the advantage of the momentum of cultural events had shifted to the local Punjabi groups. Indian religious reform movements soon appeared challenging Christian apologists aggressively. The reformers also made use of the tools of the missionaries—western logic, debating skills, and mass communication technology. 1882-2

The recommendations of the Allahabad Conference reflect the concern of the missionaries with the social problems of adapting a communication tool with its accompanying Western social conventions to an alien environment. The above-mentioned recommendations offered as partial solutions non personnel adaptations. Changes in format or type and more efficient bibliographic control are solutions which involve little manipulation of the missionary's Indian social environment. Social changes were advocated by the Conference. The changes, however, were limited to those required to establish a distribution system for publications or the recruitment of native writers.

The problem of distributing printed tracts in the earlier days of the missions was handled by the preaching missionaries themselves. They gave away books and tracts to all who requested them "on the sole condition of their being able to read."⁵⁶ The missionaries received their supply of tracts without cost. The volume of material needed was heavy and placed a burden on the printing houses. At one Allahabad religious fair, as many as 2,500 tracts were distributed. As many as twenty-five thousand copies were handed out during a single visit of the Ludhiana mission to the Hardwar Mela, a religious gathering.⁵⁷

Later a nominal price was established on all but the smallest tracts. The Bombay Tract Society began this practice in 1848. Since this solved problems, the practice spread rapidly. The setting of a price to cover costs of printing and distributing enabled the missionaries to employ Indians as colporteurs, pedlars of religious books. These men visited individual houses and set up stalls at railway stations.

Colportage by the 1870s accounted for half of the vernacular circulation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. One hundred twenty sales people sold ninety thousand scriptures for the Society in one year. In 1873-74, the Christian Vernacular Education Society had thirty three agents who sold 85,000 tracts, 22,800 school books, and 4,882 scriptures that year. The total 112,100 pieces were sold for Rs. 4,020. Reverend E. M. Wherry's colporteurs for his mission in Ludhiana sold 13,758 copies during 1873-1874. The Conference reported that it was difficult to fill all the colportage positions because the work was so unpopular. The Society recommended using a small number of Hindus, who have "readier access to what are called the high castes, the chief purchasers."⁵⁸

Realizing that a newly established secular book trade was prospering outside of their organizations, the Allahabad Conference recommended that "every effort should be made to induce those engaged in it to sell Christian publications of an attractive character."⁵⁹ The Conference also felt that an undesirable volume of "immoral literature" was coming from the vernacular presses.⁶⁰ The Conference, therefore, appointed a Permanent Committee "to bring objectionable publications to the notice of the authorities."⁶¹

One further issue, which concerned the missionaries in their attempt to disseminate scripture, was book postage. In the Post Office Act of 1837 and of 1854, a distinction was made between the imported and the locally printed material. The cost per *tola* (a defunct Indian weight equal to 180 grains) was half as much for matter produced in Great Britain. "This difference in postage encouraged the circulation of newspapers and printed matter imported from England, but the high internal rates must have greatly hampered the postal circulation of journals printed in India", wrote Geoffrey Clarke in his book, *The Post Office of India and Its Story*.⁶²

Governor-General Dalhousie (1812-1860) tried to promote national education by setting a low postal rate, an *anna* (a defunct Indian coin) for twenty *tolas* (ten *tolas* equalled to four ounces approximately). Due no doubt in some part to missionary pressure, the Post Office Act of 1866 abolished the distinction based on the place of origin of the material. For newspapers, books, and pamphlets the cost was one *anna* for every ten *tolas*.⁶³

In the long run, however, the problem of skilled craftsmen, sale personnel, and book postage was secondary to the need for personnel for the literary aspect of the press. Economic relationships could and did supply the services of printers and distributors. Only converts or descendants of converts, however, could be Indian apologists for Christianity. When all Christian preachers were foreigners, a foreign veneer was strongly associated with Christianity. This veneer was one which several missionaries tried to minimize. Fortunately, the native Punjabis soon became writers, school teachers, clerks, and book retailers. Joseph Warren had hoped that someday native scholars would "reproduce the ideas of the Bible correctly and in an idiom more acceptable to their countrymen than that of foreigners can ever be."⁶⁴ Several Punjabi Christians wrote apologetic tracts in Urdu, Punjabi, and Hindi in the late 1880s. It is likely that these tracts were in a style which was more fluent and natural than the one used by the American missionaries. In 1897, Moulvi Safdar Ali (died 1899), a Christian friend of Reverend Imad-ud-din, thus

described a joint work of Imad-ud-din and Reverend Robert Clark

"I have examined also their literary merit. They are not written in the sapless, dry language of the would-be Mullah, nor in that of the pedagogue or pedant. The style is simple, natural, polished, terse, yet attractive."⁶⁵

The adjectives used to praise Imad-ud-din's style, even if the praise might be biased by the friendship between the critic and the author, is interesting in light of the stylistic reforms that occurred under Hali, Azad, and others. These reforms have been detailed out in the next chapter on literary press. Reverend Imad-ud-din had been a Muslim moulvi, an Islamic religious scholar. As a student, he entered into religious studies and meditation. For a part of his life, he wandered like a *fakir* (a hermit). In time he became convinced of the vanity of all religions. When an old friend, Moulayi Safdar Ali, was converted to Christianity, Imad-ud-din read the Gospels as part of an attempt to reconvert his friend. *The Sermon on the Mount* fascinated Imad-ud-din.⁶⁶ After a year of spending whole days and nights reading the Bible and Christian books, Imad-ud-din received baptism in 1866.⁶⁷ He remained an active apologist of Christianity until his death in 1900. Scores of his publications hold out his deep-rooted reverence for Christianity, particularly on topics which Muslims raised in controversy.⁶⁸

Besides the notice he earned as a writer, Imad-ud-din is of interest because he was reputed to have been a cousin of Mirza Ahmad, the founder of a vocal, anti-Christian, Islamic sect. Mirza Ahmad and the Ahmadiyya relationship to Punjabi publishing will be considered later. Whether they were cousins or not but both Imad-ud-din and Mirza Ahmad here are of theoretical importance as the two were the Punjabis. Both men reacted vigorously to the presence of missionaries, especially to the fact that the missionaries were nodes of a new mass communication system which mixed oral and print media. Both the Punjabis became prominent representatives of their own religious groups. Both used the press to good advantage to disseminate their messages.

The similarities between Imad-ud-din and Mirza Ahmad more than outweigh their differences when trying to understand the responses of the Punjabis to the printing press and Western ideas. Both converts to Christianity and those who did not convert, when they reacted to religious printed material (whether by reading or writing), were often reacting as indigenous modernizers rather than as Western-oriented modernizers. The uneducated converts and the educated

To satisfy the technical needs of a print system, the Government had a somewhat easier time than the missionaries. Equipment and skilled labourers were as easy to obtain as military hardware and soldiers. Instead of turning to orphanages for a source of a captive, controllable labour pool, the Government used jails. The press in the Lahore Central Jail was one of the early major government printing establishments. Mention of the Lahore Central Jail Press existing in 1853 is found in the records. In 1867, less than a dozen men were employed, while in 1922 nearly three hundred persons worked in the Jail Press. As early as 1897, the lithographic machinery replaced the hand-presses.⁷¹

The support systems for the press were also fairly easy to establish. The distribution of reports within a bureaucracy is a normal function. For writers to produce these reports, clerks and officials were hired. Many of these men in the beginning of the British rule were Europeans. After the Second Anglo Sikh War, the Bengalis and the Hindustanis were brought to Punjab. Skilled immigrants were needed until newly established, Western-oriented educational institutions in Punjab could produce enough educated Punjabis.⁷² By the beginning of the twentieth century, the personnel of the Government of Punjab at all levels consisted increasingly of the Punjabis.

In order to teach English to the Punjabis the Government aided others in establishing schools and colleges and also started some schools itself. In both the secondary and higher education in some towns, the missionaries had a monopoly. In other cities, first the Government and later the local groups, such as the Arya Samaj and the Khalsa Diwan, opened schools in competition with the missions. Tuition fee, government grants, and donations were the main source of educational revenue. Thus the government bureaucracy had a steady and ever-growing stream of trained applicants to be employed as clerks, lawyers and other personnel.

For the external communication system, the Government supplemented their official efforts through the newspapers. In this direction the British had two patterns to follow, the Mughal newsletter and the English newspaper. Colonel Wade, the Political Agent in Ludhiana, in the early 1830s followed the Mughal pattern. His *Ludhiana Akhbar* was a hand-written Persian newspaper before the Ludhiana Mission Press was set up by Newton. Even after the arrival of the printing press, the circulation of this newspaper was only thirty. The news was mostly political reports from nearby states. The representatives of various states transmitted their news to Ludhiana. The Government

also employed newswriters for further contributions. The *Ludhiana Akhbar* was not meant to serve as a mass medium device.⁷³

During this period, even the English-styled newspapers in India were in an elementary form of mass communication for government information. The experience of the Government of India with newspaper dated back to the days of Warren Hastings when the East India Company had only recently become the Diwan of Bengal. Those were days of turbulence for the Press and the Government often because the first ones to discover the value of newspapers for political communication were those who opposed the Government. In the 1780s, the printer James Augustus Hicky was sued, jailed, and had his press seized for his publications. When William Bolts, a censored servant of the East India Company and of Dutch extraction, posted his intent to start a paper, he was ordered in 1767 "to quit Bengal and proceed to Madras on the first ship that shall go from the Presidency in order to take his passage from there to Europe."⁷⁴

In the early 1820s, James Silk Buckingham, the publisher of the *Calcutta Journal* was deported because of what he had printed. Although Buckingham's articles were critical of the Government and, at times, strong in tone, nevertheless he had been found by a jury to have been innocent of a charge of libel two years before his exile.⁷⁵ In Bombay, the newspapers criticized the policies of Charles Napier in Sind.⁷⁶ In Lahore, the *Indian Public Opinion* (1866-67), started by young officials seeking a voice in the administration of Punjab, drove the *Lahore Chronicle* (1846-1867), the newspaper of the older administrators of the province, out of business and into a merger.⁷⁷

Indians watched and learned from Buckingham and others. Many Punjabis were part-owners of the *Lahore Chronicle*. Ram Mohun Roy, the Bengali reformer, was a friend of Buckingham. Roy started his *Brahminical Magazine* in 1821, two years before Buckingham's deportation and ran it during the year Buckingham was on trial for libel. The experience in political journalism that Roy, other Bengalis, and later the Hindustanis were to earn, was inherited by the Punjabis when the Bengalis and the Hindustanis became editors and writers of the early newspapers of Punjab.

The first newspapers of the Western Punjab were started after the Anglo-Sikh wars. By then, the British community in the whole of Punjab and neighbouring Delhi was large enough to support several newspapers. In addition to the British community, there were Indians who were interested in English-styled newspapers. Soon after the Second Anglo-Sikh War, the Indian Government contacted an Indian

editor, Munshi Harsukh Rai (died 1890), in the North-West Provinces (United Provinces) and encouraged him to move his business to Lahore. Thus, after the annexation of Punjab, Munshi Harsukh Rai set up the *Koh-i-Nur* (1849-1904), a distinguished Urdu newspaper.⁷⁸ Muhammad Azim (1815-1885), a graduate of Delhi College who had experience as a compositor in the shop of the *Delhi Gazette*, also arrived in Lahore. He became the nucleus of a corporation of British officials and forty three Indians who started the *Lahore Chronicle* in the 1840s. The *Lahore Chronicle* had both an English and a vernacular edition.⁷⁹

The English language papers and the *Koh-i-Nur* and its Urdu and Persian rivals served an imperial community of both the British and those Indians who had established a working relationship with the British. Thus the *Koh-i-Nur* had readers throughout the Indian Empire.⁸⁰ Their all-Indian readership does not mean that this paper consciously avoided defending the interests of Punjab. The Punjabi interests, however, that concerned the readers and publishers of these newspapers were interests which related directly to the Empire. To strengthen their empire, the British encouraged newspapers while carefully watching the contents of these papers for seditious articles. Newspaper lists were maintained by the Government Translation bureaux of the provincial governments; read most issues of the periodicals they could locate. These bureaux published a serial containing translated excerpts of vernacular newspapers.

Commenting on this trend in the 1955 *Report* of the Indian Press Commission, J. Natarajan has observed that Government press reports of the 1850s contained encouragement for the production of books and serials as a way to educate the Indian masses. Political apathy and the absence of public grievances in Indian publications were mentioned as matters of concern. The British wanted to establish communication with the "subject community" about which a contemporary official wrote, "proper allowable discussion on matters affecting native interests" must be elicited.

"And if indeed the subject community could offer no suggestions which might be deemed worthy of notice, yet at least something would be gained if merely their prejudices could be learnt whilst we, thus in possession of their misapprehensions, might on our part offer some explanations."⁸¹

This "utopian" idea (as the official labelled it) was a difficult one to which Indians could safely respond. In 1852, a report again complained that the newspapers were giving no indication of public

opinion. The writer comments on the overcaution of editors in discussing political subjects and regrets "that this barrier to all communications of wants and wishes should exist in the native character and that a legitimate outlet should be thus guardedly closed." In spite of the "utopian" exhortations, there is in this very same report of 1852 the mention of the "misuse of the editorial chair" by two newspapers. One editor preferred a complaint against the local government of summoning him to give evidence as a witness in a case. In the other situation, the editor was accused of having published certain libellous articles against a local official. This editor was imprisoned for two months.⁸² In this hostile, yet ironically cajoling climate, the editors were faced with limited public demand for newspapers. They often depended on obtaining a postal concession, or other indirect aid from the Government.

Yet inspite of fines and imprisonments for supposed "misuse of the editorial chair", the newspapers did develop in Delhi, Lahore and other Punjab cities prior to 1857.⁸³ The chronicle of the major papers and the history of Punjabi publishing are recorded in such histories as S. Amjad Ali, *Bookworld of Pakistan*, a survey in booklet form emphasizing post-1948 developments; Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press: A History of Public Opinion*, a pre-independence history of major developments in all-Indian journalism; N. Gerald Barrier, *The Punjab in Nineteenth Century Tracts*, also his *The Punjab Press, 1880-1905*, and *The Sikhs and Their Literature*; Ram Ratan Bhatnagar, *The Rise and Growth of Hindi Journalism, (1826-1945)* besides giving details of Hindi language enterprises, also covers early Urdu periodicals; S.M.A. Feroze, *Press in Pakistan*, very informative; Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Journalism in Pakistan: Firs t Phase 1845 to 1957*, and his excellent Urdu work, *Sahafat Pakistan-o-Hind Mein* (Journalism in Pakistan and India); *Kitab: Urdu Kitabon ki Directory* (Directory of Urdu Books), contains short histories of Lahore publishers; Patrick Lovett, *Journalism in India*, comments of a British journalist who worked in India; Nadig Krishna Murthy, *Indian Journalism*, a survey; Prem Narain, *Press and Politics in India*, a survey. Some of the pre-1880 newspapers printed only straight news, official and commercial, without editorial comment. Others, such as those which grew out of Delhi College, were literary papers. Editorials in most vernacular papers were respectful of the Government. A disrespectful issue was rarely allowed to be repeated.

There was one class of exceptions to this custom of respectful editorials. Native princes and members of their courts were permitted to be targets of unfavorable comments. Some editors were at times

encouraged and financially assisted by the various factions involved in court disputes. A few native rulers became adept at newspaper manipulation. This manipulation was increasingly valuable as the nineteenth century passed through its final quarter. The princes found that they could fight aggressive religious reform groups with publications. The Dogra of Kashmir, for instance, had difficulties with the Ahmadiyyas and found his control of newspapers useful. The princes also discovered that they could lend their journalistic muscle to such rising political leaders as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, leader of the widespread Islamic reform movement.

The courtly fighting, moreover, acted as an arena of limited emotional conflict in which the British and their subjects could sketch the outline of the freedoms and restrictions of Indian journalism. This foundation would change in time, but when religious groups and early nationalist organizations began violently to berate each other, there existed some precedents to guide the rulers and the ruled.

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EDUCATIONAL AND LITERARY PRESS

ALTHOUGH the origins of the Punjabi educational and literary press are generally ascribed to the pioneering efforts of the Imperial Government and the Christian missionaries, yet it must be remembered that the Western Punjabis had an educational and literary print communication system much before the coming of the British printing press on the scene. When the British arrived, they found that the commitment to education was high.¹

“Torn by invasion and civil war, it (Punjab) ever preserved and added to educational endowments. The most unscrupulous chief, the avaricious moneylender, and even the freebooter, vied with the small landowner in making peace with his conscience by founding schools and rewarding the learned.”²

Ranjit Singh had experimented with many a western ideas. He had invited Reverend Lowrie to teach in a palace school. He had discussed the idea of a printing press with him. Thus besides having an already functioning manuscript system, the Punjabis were examining western technology much before the annexation of Punjab. The Punjabis had established a pattern, which continued under the British rule *i.e.* of allowing the western as well as the indigenous educational and literary institutions to coexist and to flourish.

An early instance of coexisting institutions, each drawing on different heritages, was that of the Christian missionary schools supplementing indigenous Punjabi educational systems. Reverend Lowrie in the very beginning set the pattern. He ran a school which Colonel Wade, the Political Agent, encouraged. Wade desired to impart European

learning and manners to the natives. Reflecting on the early years of his Ludhiana School, Lowrie wrote in 1836

"It now contains about forty-five boys and young men. This number is as large as could be expected, when it is considered that but few, if any, of the natives of this country are yet influenced by a desire of knowledge from disinterested motives, and that the number of situations is but limited in which a knowledge of our language would be advantageous in a pecuniary point of view. Indeed, it may be said of most places remote from Calcutta that the most weighty motive to the mind of a Hindu for seeking a knowledge of our language is the hope of pleasing his European superiors, and of deriving some sort of advantage from their favour. This is a good deal the case at Lodiana, though I am glad to think that some of the boys are influenced by higher and better motives. But, whatever may be the character of the motives which influence any of the natives in their efforts to become acquainted with our language, it matters little to us as to our duty. To us it is simply a question between endeavoring to avail ourselves of their wish to know our language by consenting to teach them, and watching opportunities to make them acquainted with useful and Christian knowledge, and neglecting to do so. If we choose the latter plan we lose many and precious opportunities, direct and indirect, of exerting a useful influence, of communicating important knowledge, of correcting evil habits, of witnessing a Christian example, and we permit a most interesting class of the community to acquire that knowledge of our language which will make them by far the most influential men of their generation, without any, or with but an imperfect acquaintance with the truths of our religion. The desire to know our language is awakened in their minds, it will be gratified, those who learn our books will be looked up to by all the people, they will occupy many places of important influence among their countrymen, but whether they will exert an influence favorable to Christianity, or not, is a different and most important matter. Mere general knowledge will never make them sincere Christians, though it may, and most probably will make them infidels as to the religious systems of their fathers. We have yet to learn whether infidelity in India is any better than infidelity in America or Europe."³

Lowrie wanted to expose an audience of the Punjabis to Christianity in a European cultural setting. Lowrie and other missionaries who followed willingly taught non-Christian students, especially the heirs of nobles and notables. The missionaries were satisfied with a

gradual process of acculturation, of slowly instilling Christian values and ethics. Soon the church schools were found competing with the government educational institutions.

Later on during late eighteen hundreds, the missionary leaders condemned the government trend of supporting ever-increasing numbers of secular schools where western subjects were taught without a religious background. In the work of creating "a science and literature" for India, Warren wrote that :

"Government school teachers will aid in this work materially; but as they have very little to do with teaching Christianity, their efforts will tend to pull down the edifice of falsehood, more than to build up religious truth."⁴

In all, however, the pattern prior to the 1880s was for indigenous schools to operate in a manner similar to the one they had in the past, while mission schools and government-sponsored secular schools slowly increased in number and influence.

In the times of Colonel Wade, the cooperation between the missionaries and the Government was fairly uncomplicated. Combined resources of both the Government and the churches were barely over the threshold level of establishing even a rudimentary educational system. Later when the resources increased in the 1860s and 1870s, the missionaries and the Government could compete without harming each other. During those two decades, the ultimate scarce resource in Punjab for institutions of higher learning was that of the students, tuition paying students.

In the United Provinces, to the east, the competition between the Government and the missions led to a deterioration of relationship between the two and a weakening of the mission schools. Although competition existed in Punjab, yet the missionaries under the leadership of the American Presbyterian, Reverend Forman, were strong enough to prosper and in some towns to undercut the attempts of the Government to attract students from the already established mission schools. The missionaries were able not only to offer what appeared to be a higher quality of education, but also to do so at a competitive rate of tuition. The result was that some early government schools closed due to financial and attendance problems.

The competition against Punjabi missionaries did not make itself manifest again until the 1880s when the competitors were indigenous religious reform groups, such as the Arya Samaj. These regional reform institutions, however, posed few real problems. In the 1880s

and 1890s, the number of students had increased and this proved a booster in the already scarce resources. Also the variety of students was greater so that the missionaries and the reformers could draw from different student populations.⁵

Since this is a history of the press in Western Punjab and of the institutions that influenced that history, we are particularly interested in the educational zeal of the missionaries. The enthusiasm is significant for the press and is a prominent feature which contributed to successful efforts in the field of western-style education. The early establishment of schools, the presence of leaders like Reverend Forman on government education committees, and other factors aided mission efforts. But it was their motives, which served as beacon light for the Punjabi missionaries. These motives influenced the development of the curriculum which the missionaries used in their schools. These motives also left their imprint on the literature which the missionaries published.

Reverend Warren has best described the focus of this motivation. In *A Glance Backward*, he exhorts his fellow missionaries to compose works in English and in Punjabi languages, because the composition of a work is a necessary condition to its publication.

"But a great deal more remains to be done the reading of native Christians is still confined to very few books. Comparative destitution, then, is the first reason why we should all labour in this department, if we can. And it must be stated that this destitution is not merely of religious books, we have scarcely any history, philosophy, science or literature, in either dialect of Hindustani, and what little there is in any of these departments is either Mohammedan or Hindu in its tendency, or mere crude and elementary attempts. Most of it is, therefore, evil in its tendency in various ways, and this is the second reason why we should write for the press."⁶

Warren and his compatriots could not appreciate the immense and beautiful heritages that South Asians of Warren's day could tap. They appear to be devoid of the finesse required to appreciate the value of Asian culture, partly because it was a very solid an obstacle to these missionaries' plans. Warren continued

"The want of a good literature, using the word in its broadest sense, is one of the greatest hindrances to the work of conversion. And yet, if there were nothing extant which took the place of a literature, it would, in some respects, be better for us, for that which exists misleads the people, and is so thoroughly trusted, in

that we can scarcely find any place for the truth. The people have histories, geographies, and various other works; but they are as erroneous as they can be, and the people are as bigoted about them as about their religions. Every one has heard of Hindu astronomy, and how it is connected with mythological and theological fables, till it has become a part of their religion; and the fact that they can calculate eclipses gives the Pandits such credit with the people that it certainly would be better, not merely for the cause of Christianity, but ultimately for science itself, if they knew nothing and were dependent upon missionaries for the very elements of knowledge. All have heard of the seven concentric oceans of the Hindus; and it is harder to remove this false idea from the mind, and afterwards implant the truth than it would be to make a good geographer of a savage. In the matter of history, the Hindus have not a page that is reliable; and yet they have a history, so full of marvellous antiquity and astonishing deeds and occurrences, that we appear in comparison to be pigmies in exploits and knowledge. The notions of the Mohammedans are just as far from the truth. For instance, if we wish to appeal to history in any way for evidence of the truth of Christianity, they suppose themselves to be in possession of all history already, and will not admit a jot that we can bring forward. They are as completely unbelievers as to Herodotus, Xenophon, Josephus, and all other early historians, as they are of the New Testament. They have received a distorted and fabulous account of the Greeks, and of Alexander, from the Persians; and this they insist on believing, and will have nothing else. All the ecclesiastical history and other writings of the first six centuries after Christ, are to them a perfect nullity; but they suppose that they know all about it. And when we adduce anything of the sort, they say that if there had been any such thing they should have heard of it, and that is the end. And the Hindus have not even so much knowledge of the ancient West—they can scarcely believe that it ever existed. Therefore, we have to teach the people not only religion, but also history and science; and we must go back to the very beginnings of knowledge, and clear away the jungle, and plant anew through the whole course . . .”⁷

This “ignorance” (as Warren considered the content of the Asian cultures he encountered) while it might have been reason enough to inspire missionary publishing efforts, also certainly moulded its development. The missionary use of the press encouraged the Punjabis to adopt without question both the printing press as a tool along with the entire western culture accompanying it.

The feature that unsettled Warren and other ethnocentric Westerners was the confident ethnocentrism of the Punjabis. That a "heathen" people could be ignorant of "Truth" (as Warren conceived of it) was understandable, but that they could fail to perceive the "superiority" of western truths was amazing to Warren.

"In a discussion with a Musalman, I brought forward the idea that in Christian countries art, learning and morals are in a better condition than in others. He denied our superiority in general terms, and said that, as to art, it was essentially idolatrous, and Musalmans could not practice it, but if they would, it was well known that their fancy, imagination and taste were much greater than those of Europeans, as to learning, we were no match for them, rhetoric we evidently could make little of, while they had it in perfection, and so they had logic, of which Europeans had not the first rudimental idea—had not even a name for it, and there philosophy accounted for everything in heaven and in earth, and for much that was in other places, while it was perfectly certain that Europeans had no notion of spiritual and abstract ideas. He would, indeed, acknowledge that we had a greater acquaintance with steam, and with the sciences of mechanics generally, than they had, but this was a low kind of knowledge to possess which showed no grandeur of ideas, no cultivation of intellect, no taste, not anything but a qualification for being what we are, the mechanics of the world! He said that this knowledge was only a refinement of brute force, by which we held in subjection a great part of the world, not to our honor, but to the exposure of our grossness. Morals he gave up to us, saying with a wicked wink, that rustics and low persons were usually found to be more correct in some respects than gentlemen."⁸

A reverse picture of differential intellectual calibres has been presented by Clark:

"The Punjabis, who don't know English, remain babies all their lives. They have no love for literature, for they have no literature to love, in Urdu. Their minds are never enriched with any stores from better minds, and the consequence is that Native Christians have little or no influence on the educated classes."⁹

Joseph Warren discovered that in order to introduce a segment of an alien culture he must demonstrate the validity of the entire edifice. He wrote:

"And still another great obstruction is found in the religious and

philosophical systems of the country, and in its pseudo-civilization. It is not in the same situation as the barbarous islands were, which had lost all confidence in their idols, and presented, as nearly as possible, a *tabula rasa* on which to write a new faith. In India, there is a high and romantic mythology, to give character to its idolatry, presenting the grossest idolatry to the lowest, a gross polytheism to the half-educated, and a refined and philosophical pantheism to the higher classes. The doctrines of both the Mohammedans and the Hindus are well suited to the corrupt propensities of human nature—both to those of the low and gross, and to those of the lovers of self-righteousness and spiritual pride. The priesthood, instead of being mere ignorant mummers, are intelligent men, with so much knowledge as easily to impose on the masses and exercise a great influence. India has a history, both political and literary; and our attempt is to overthrow both opinions and a social system, which are the growth of ages, and are connected with a certain and well defined form of civilization. The attempt is sublime in its magnitude. No political revolution that was ever attempted half equals it. Were not our dependence on something infinitely higher than the power of man, this attempt would not have hope enough to make it ridiculous—it would be simply beneath contempt. We are certainly superior to the people of India in learning and civilization; but not so superior as to have the advantage given by the immeasurable distance between Europeans and savages. We have something more to do than to clear the ground and build; we have first to pull down.”¹⁰

Warren stated that Hindu astronomy was so intermingled with mythological and theological fables that the astronomy was a part of the Hindu religion. He found that this relationship was true for the religion and science of his own culture. “We have to teach the people not only religion, but also history and science . . .”¹¹ It may be observed that Warren did not attempt to prove the divinity of Christ using Islamic historical methods or concepts rather he felt that he needed to teach and convince his audience of the value of Western manners, the accuracy of European geography and history, and the beauty of Western art and literature.

The most influential missionaries in Western Punjab were the American Presbyterians. Their ranks were dominated by the theology of the Princeton Seminary, which discouraged two-way interaction with other religious traditions. The American Presbyterians held to this theology until World War I.¹² Lowrie reveals his typical Presbyterian leanings when he wrote :

"The advance of knowledge, on common subjects is not less directly hostile to the Hindu religion. The peculiar opinion according to which their books on most branches of knowledge are accounted sacred, has been already pointed out and leads to most important results. These books at least many of them, are filled with the grossest error, not merely on religious subjects but on common topics—such as the shape of the earth the position of its mountains and rivers the cause of eclipses the influence of the planets on human affairs the manner of curing diseases, etc. Their belief in the most absurd notions on these subjects, is based on the same authority which has peopled their heavens with millions of gods and goddesses and ordained their priests and manifold ceremonial observances. Let them see that in the former things they have been altogether mistaken and it will not be long before they discover the groundless claims of the latter. Both stand on the same platform and must stand or fall together. The former are now falling. European science and correct knowledge are supplanting the fables of the East. Besides all this, multitudes of youth are now forming such habits of accurate mental study, of ascertaining truth by induction and severe reason, as would lead them to reject the visionary religious revelation of the Hindu sacred books, even were their instructions on profane topics less erroneous. In short the Hindus may be regarded as now in a transition state. They are leaving the false and dangerous moorings of Hinduism, and setting out on the tide of new opinions, impelled by a self trusting and reckless spirit, without chart or pilot—where shall their voyage end? Certain it is that they will not continue pagans many generations longer, shall they become sincere worshippers of the true God, or madly follow the vain imaginations of the natural mind into the heartless regions of scepticism? ¹³

"The native languages contain little valuable knowledge, and vast stores of error, and of the legends of idolatry. The English language contains with much that is evil, all that is good. Studying it, thousands of influential native youth will abandon the religion of their fathers, perceiving that it is altogether irreconcilable with the simplest rudiments of correct knowledge. But will they become Christians? Not necessarily. In any country infidelity is a miserable substitute for faith. ¹⁴

The aspersions on the cultural heritage of the South Asians appear to be biased on the face of it. Compare them with the following translation of an 1874 passage of Muhammad Hussain Azad:

"My countrymen, you are composed of two classes, one Hindus

and the other Musalmans. You know who are Hindus. Hindus are those whose language contains in essence what today you desire for yourselves. If it is Bhasha, it can claim superiority over all others because it possesses a capacity to describe realities. The pre-eminence of Sanskrit is beyond all description, because in addition to poetical themes it has moulded in verse, from History and Geography to Medicine, Logic and Jurisprudence, indeed all that it laid its hand on . . . The other section is Musalmans whose home of origin is Arabia, where not only men's language but that of ladies and slave girls, when they talked in high emotion attained the dignity of poetry."¹⁵

Thus, this need to introduce Western culture was a part of what enabled the missionaries to be satisfied with a low religious profile in their schools. This low profile approach in turn enabled them to enrol in their schools the children of influential non-Christians. It also enabled them to survive reverses in the imperial fortunes of the British Indian Empire. As long as they could provide at least a religious-ethical background to their curriculum, the missionaries were willing to be skilled cultural brokers, as leaders of private enterprise in the field of education.

While intellectuals such as Imad-ud-din appeared to be converted through the power of words, by reading Scripture, the press was not all-powerful in bringing about conversions. Reading *The Sermon on the Mount* was insufficient for other Punjabis. Orphans, children shut from their families, and students and lower class families had a greater susceptibility to conversion than many other Punjabis. These marginal people were more willing to leave their community to join an Indian Christian community. With these individuals, the missionaries were able to use the printing press in a larger program to bring about an initial conversion and prevent a relapse.

An important role of the missionaries in the history of the Western Punjabi printing press and its support systems was that of an introducer of the technology of printing. As soon as possible, however, the missionaries appear to have limited the contact between their press and general Punjabi society. They thus limited their role as technological innovators. They attained this by creating a Punjabi Christian community which was fairly self-contained and dependent on the British for support in the beginning. Since some Englishmen thought the roman script would sweep into extinction all "unscientific", indigenous scripts, illiterate Punjabi converts were taught mostly Punjabi and Urdu in the roman script. This cut these Punjabis further from the mainstream of the Punjabi culture

and society. Because of discriminatory hiring practices, this Christian community received great exposure to the technical aspects of printing innovations which the missionaries had brought from the West.

The non technical aspects of the press viz., the social organization and the intellectual content of Western science and literature were demonstrated by the missionaries to the entire Punjabi community. Preaching, conferences, political manoeuvrings and tactics by their very nature had to be public. In the market place and in the mission schools, non Christians learned about the power of the press from missionaries.

One of the sources of innovation that the Punjabis had, besides the official Imperial Government and the Christian missions, was an unofficial, after-working hours contact with personnel brought to Punjab and employed by the Government or the churches. This included, of course, contact with the Hindustanis and the Bengalis as well as the Europeans. Many of the early, post-annexation Punjabi institutions which were associated with printing were initiated by the Europeans acting in semi-official capacities. The missionaries and the government administrators supported early print shops and newspapers. The *Lahore Chronicle*, the *Koh-i-Nur* and other early native newspapers had Hindustani editors and European managers and printers.¹⁶

Two Europeans, Dr. Gottlieb William Leitner (1840-1899), and Colonel William Rice Moreland Holroyd (1835-1913) made early and long lasting contributions to the Punjabi educational and literary history. Both worked in official positions in Lahore. Leitner became the Principal of the Government College, Lahore in 1864 and Holroyd became the Director of Public Instruction in 1867. They worked extensively and sympathetically with the Punjabis, encouraging the formation of cultural societies and composition of literary works in Punjabi languages. Leitner and his Anjuman-i-Punjab (Society of the Punjab), for example, established Oriental College which became the core of the University of Punjab at Lahore. The Oriental College set a precedent for the University by using vernacular languages as media of instruction. The founders of the College also decided to have vernacular languages and literatures as subjects for study in an institution embodying Western methods of teaching, study the research toward the attainment of Western-styled degrees. Gradually but increasingly, the Punjabis were not only included in most successful cultural associations as passive partners but they also tended either to replace such Europeans as Leitner as administrators or to form their

own parallel associations. The schools and these various voluntary associations provided excellent training in the use of print.

Many schools and associations had journals or newspapers to broadcast their points of view and disseminate news. These journals provided training in all phases of publishing from management and editing to the actual writing, layout, and typesetting. For instance, the editor and the founder of the *Lahore Chronicle*, Muhammad Azim, learned the elements of his trade in Delhi College. People learned not only to produce a printed work, but also to distribute it as well. They discovered ways to acquire financial backing. They learned how to establish editorial policy without unduly offending those in power. The Punjabis learned that print could be a valuable supplement to oral presentation. Meetings at which petitions and memorials were drafted could be advertised on printed posters. Newspapers and journals could then "advertise" and publish details of the reports of the meetings as well as the activities and the reactions these caused.

While the Punjabis were learning the technical and administrative skills of the printing press, they and the British also became concerned with the content of printed works. The missionaries from the time of William Carey in Bengal had shown a willingness to use a Western tool to communicate what they considered to be a universal message in Indian scripts. The Government, too, was willing to have laws and reports issued in Indian languages. Thus, the contents of many works printed in India were not genuinely Indian. To find Indian works in print one had to read what was published by local, Indian, commercial enterprises or by institutions supported by those interested in reviving and preserving classical works.

Since the times of Warren Hastings and of the early Orientalists in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Bengal, there have been Englishmen and Indians who valued classical Indian culture. These people reserved significant portions of their time researching and learning Indian languages and publishing their findings and translations. In Fort William College, Calcutta (established as a training college for newly arrived British administrators), both the missionaries and the government servants, Indians and Europeans, published classical South Asian works in order both to use them as college text-books and to insure their survival.¹⁷

From the governorship of Warren Hastings through the administration of William Bentinck and further up to the 1880s, the Orientalists' concern for Indian culture surfaced in debates on educational policy.

Some administrators felt that English should be the sole language of instruction and western subjects and sciences should be the only subjects to be taught in schools financed by the Government. These people believed that the use of vernacular tongues as languages of instruction would allow into the classroom "those patent errors which prevail in ancient and even in modern literary and scientific works." Charles Trevelyan was one of the chief protagonist of this line of thought.¹⁸

Led by Leitner, many Punjabi leaders in the 1860s had decided that while English was a valuable language and western subjects had to be taught, some official financial aid nevertheless had to be given to found a college or university where as many subjects as possible would be taught in vernacular and classical Punjabi languages. They felt that a school was needed where the study of "oriental" such as Asian languages, literatures, and religions could be pursued and degrees awarded in these areas.

The westernness of the administrative structure of such a Punjabi university and the teaching of western science and literature were considered by Leitner and others to be capable of strengthening the oriental elements.¹⁹ What bothered these people was that the university system first proposed by the Indian Government for Punjab was exclusive. It excluded and refused to honor research and instruction in "oriental" fields of study. Also, the type of university to which Leitner objected was one whose control was invested almost solely in the hands of Europeans. When Leitner reached Lahore, the controlling educational body for Punjab was the University of Calcutta in Bengal whereas the University of Calcutta was beyond the control of the Punjabis. Its educational policy further irritated Leitner by encouraging what he considered to be cramming and undue use of English.

The choice of a language was also a problem outside schools. Persian had been the language of the royal courts and of business. Between 1851 and 1854, it was replaced by Urdu in the various divisions of Punjab while English, of course, was employed in the correspondence of all the senior officers of the Government. Urdu was used by the upper and middle classes of Punjab and also Punjabi was used in many situations.²⁰ The *Administration Report* of 1854-56 stated that

"At present English education among Punjabis is little better than a forced education, ready to wither under the influence of practical life. The great and immediate object for attainment is the imparting of sound elementary knowledge in the vernacular form."²¹

In 1854, Sir Charles Wood, as President of the Board of Control of the East India Company, issued his *Education Dispatch*. It provided for the organization of a department of education in each Indian province and the establishment of a system of grants-in-aid for the regulation and assistance of schools not directly controlled by the Government. The *Education Dispatch* also required the formation of universities based upon the model of the one in London in the three presidency cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

The Department of Public Instruction of Punjab was founded in 1856. In two years, 456 village schools in Punjab were started while grants-in-aid contributed to the support of various approved mission schools. Between 1855 and 1858, normal schools for the training of teachers were established in Lahore, Delhi, and Rawalpindi.²²

“That the Punjabis evinced a very keen interest in education is proved from the fact that ‘seeing that the Government interested itself in the subject; numerous petitions were presented to the local authorities praying for the establishment of schools, immediately after the annexation’.”²³

In 1858, the control of British India passed from the East India Company to the Crown. In April 1861, Charles Wood, now Secretary of State, approved as part of a large educational scheme “the formation of a school of a superior order at Lahore, which would serve as the nucleus of the College sanctioned in 1856.”²⁴ Other schools were also formed including a medical college at Lahore in 1860; in 1863, the government colleges were established at Lahore and Delhi to provide a place of study for matriculated students in the higher branches of literature. Thus, within fifteen years of the annexation of Punjab, the province had an educational system consisting of at least several thousand primary schools, many secondary as well as women’s schools, several normal schools, a medical college, and two liberal arts colleges. In addition, a mission college was founded at Lahore in 1866. It was closed down in 1869 but was revived in 1886 as Forman Christian College.

Leitner was the first principal of Government College, Lahore. He arrived at Lahore in November, 1864. Just within a year he had established three associations for the advancement of learning, two within and one outside the college. As Secretary to the Punjab Government, Thornton remarked :

“The formation by Dr. Leitner of “Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge” with a view to encouraging knowledge for its

own sake is worthy of commendation, and the Societies for Debating and Essay-writing set on foot among the students will doubtless lead to improvements in English composition and conversation, a matter to be desired in Government educational institutions”²⁵

Leitner, originally from Freiburg University, had studied in the Muhammedan Theological School in Constantinople. In 1855, he was a first class interpreter with the British Army in the Crimean War. Then he was a lecturer of Turkish, Modern Greek, and Arabic in King's College, London. When he was appointed Principal of Government College in 1864, he had been a professor of Arabic and Mohammedan Law at King's College since 1861.²⁶ Leitner was a man most suited for his times. He was a scholar who had an official position in the Punjab Government. He believed in the worth of cultural heritage of Punjab and also was an able organizer himself.

The organization which Dr Leitner established outside of the College soon became very influential. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was better known by its Punjabi name as the Anjuman-i-Punjab. It set the following goals unto it:

- 1 The revival of ancient Oriental learning ,
- 2 The advancement of popular knowledge through the vernacular,
- 3 The promotion of Industry and Commerce,
- 4 The discussion of social, literary, scientific, and political questions of interest,
- 5 The association of the learned and influential classes of the Province with the officers of Government

The branches of the Anjuman-i-Punjab were formed at Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Rawalpindi. The print-related activities of the Anjuman included the establishment of a Free Public Library and Reading Room and the compilation of works in vernacular and classical languages.²⁷

The members of the Anjuman-i-Punjab campaigned vigorously for many years to have the Indian Government establish a university in Punjab. The University that the Anjuman wanted was to be subject to the control of the Punjabis and would teach not only Western subjects but “oriental” ones as well. In 1869, the Government of India, after much debate and several compromises, founded Punjab University College in Lahore. This body could confer “native” titles but not

European degrees. If successful, the University College was to be expanded into a university. Although the study of English was to be prominent, the goals of the University College were set as follows :

1. To promote the diffusion of European Science, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Punjab; and the improvement and extension of vernacular generally;
2. To afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature;
3. To associate the learned and influential classes of the Province with the officers of Government in the promotion and supervision of popular education.

The above are the special objects of the Institution ; but at the same time every encouragement will be afforded to the study of the English language and literature, and in all subjects which cannot be completely taught in the vernacular, the English language will be regarded as the medium of examination and instruction.²⁸

Many of the same people who campaigned for Punjab University had promoted Oriental College in 1865. This college withered in 1868 for the want of funds. It reopened in 1870 as a part of the new Punjab University College.²⁹

In 1882, the chiefs, nobles, and people of the Punjab had collected over Rs. 300,000 for a university. Among the donors were the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and the Maharaja of Patiala. Also the chief of Kapurthala, Bahawalpur, Jind, Nabha and other princely states donated many thousands of rupees.³⁰ Finally in October, 1882 the University of Punjab was formally opened as the organizational equal of other universities.

Punjab University College had, as its first two objectives, the use of vernacular languages of Punjab as media for the diffusion of Western knowledge and science and the improvement of vernacular literature generally. To these ends the University College, later the University of Punjab, offered literary awards to translators, editors, and compilers. These monetary rewards were but one of the attempts made by Europeans to strengthen Punjabi literature. Other methods included patronage, creation of "recommended book lists", subscription for materials to be distributed to schools and offices, and finally the official bodies themselves acted as publishers.

The University sometimes gave money prizes directly to an author. At other times it bought from four to over five hundred copies of a piece for the University students. Among the books encouraged in these ways were *Amraz-us-Sibian* a work on the diseases of children in Urdu, by Dr Rahim Khan, *Atam Tatva Vidya* a treatise of psychology in Gurmukhi by Behari Lal, Huxley's *Physiology* in Urdu by Dr Rahim Khan³¹

It was not until after 1876 that a large number of books appeared. In 1876, a university rule was enforced that required faculty to "publish" that is to translate, edit, or compile books, in addition to their teaching duties. The quality, however, and the value of these stimulated works is open to question. Dr Leitner, who captured the first four awards with his works on Islam and Arabic, highly commended the system³². The expenditure for this support between 1883 and 1886 was as follows (in Rupees)

| Encouragement to Literature | 1883 | 1884 | 1885 | 1886 |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Rs | Rs | Rs | Rs |
| (a) Rewards to authors etc | 482 | — | — | 60 |
| (b) Printing of approved books | 2,126 | 1,429 | 1,607 | 1,000 |
| (c) Purchase of approved books | — | 111 | 306 | 200 |
| (d) Grants to journals | 1,851 | 1,867 | 900 | 300 |

By 1890, this function of the University was in part transferred to the Punjab Text-Book Committee. Half of the members of this committee were appointed by the Government and half by the University of Punjab. They selected from the works presented to them certain titles to be placed on a list of recommended text books. Many teachers and school administrators of Punjab chose from this list³³. The choice of a title for this list increased and insured the chances of a book being a financial success. Even by the late 1940s, three dozen titles were being placed on a recommended list for all schools. This list was renewed only every five years, during which period, an author had an opportunity to earn over two thousand rupees³⁴.

The Anjuman-i-Punjab and its European sponsors also worked outside the University to promote improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally. Although Leitner was influential in this area, yet Colonel Holroyd also made equally important and valuable contributions. When Leitner first arrived in Lahore, he found himself at odds with the Director of Public Instruction. Fortunately,

Holroyd was soon appointed the Director. The two men, the Doctor and the Colonel, shared similar visions.

The provincial office of the Director of Public Instruction controlled government schools, regulated private schools receiving grants-in-aid funds, and administered the Government Book Depot and the Translation Bureau. The Translation Bureau kept track of what was published in newspapers, magazines, and books. Besides this, it translated excerpts from vernacular newspapers into English and distributed the translations in serial form to selected officials. For instance, the Bureau translated 1,445 pages of original matter in 1875-76, including educational books; corrected 1,818 page of the *Urdu Gazette*, an official magazine of the Punjab Government containing announcements and reports; compiled a dictionary of technical terms used in Urdu books; revised their own translation of Lethbridge's *History of India* and of a hundred and fifty page *Police Catechism*; and also carried out other projects.³⁵

The Translation Bureau and the bureaucracy of the Education Department attracted to Lahore and to the company of Leitner and Holroyd, Muhammad Hussain Azad (1830-1910) and Khawaja Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914). The activities of Hali, Azad, and their literary companions are important because they were part of the first concerted effort in Punjab to deal with the implications of the British print system and its sub-systems of education and literature. The print communication system that the British brought to India was more than a modern tool. It was a Western system saturated with Western values and patterns, some of which were modern while some were not. It was necessary for the Indians to sift the packaged print system of the British and keep what they thought they needed and discard the rest. The social environment in which this sorting process occurred was a colonial one where a western, technologically advanced society dominated an Asian society recovering from the disintegration of the Mughal Empire.

The abruptness of this change from an imperial system whose cultural heritage was Indo-Persian to a global empire whose heritage was West European can be seen in the lives of Mohammad Hussain Azad and Altaf Hussain Hali. Both the poets came from similar backgrounds. Azad was born in Delhi in 1830; Hali in 1837 in Panipat, a few miles west of Delhi. Hali was encouraged by the great Mughal poet, Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib while Azad's father Moulvi Muhammad Baqir Ali was both a friend of the Urdu poet Shaikh Ibrahim Zauq as well as himself a pioneer of Urdu journalism in Northren India.³⁶

Then as an aftermath of the Indian uprising of 1857, Delhi witnessed an unforeseen and horrible reign of terror. Indian soldiers, working for the East India Company, were up in arms against the British and tried to re-establish the Delhi-centered Mughal Empire. The attempt failed and after a siege of Delhi, the British emptied the city of its population, killing and terrorizing large numbers of its inhabitants. Azad escaped in a disguise, his father was executed. The extent and speed of the destruction is exemplified in the account that while soldiers were at the main door of his house, Azad was busy selecting what to take with him. He chose a manuscript copy of the works of Zauq, his mentor and slipped out from another door. These sheaves were the only copy of Zauq's labours to survive. Zauq's other works must have been destroyed during this period.

Azad, Hali, and their friends and families were then adrift. In the 1860s, Azad and Hali came to Lahore and found employment in the Education Department later under the direction of Colonel Holroyd. Here these men, who had been extensively trained in all but English literature, came in contact both with English works and with Leitner and Holroyd who encouraged South Asians to apply the standards of English to their own heritages. As Holroyd and Leitner wanted "Oriental" content housed and researched in a Western modelled university, so they wanted "Oriental" thought contained in a Western modelled literature. The language and the genre were to be vernacular South Asian, but the standards of excellence were to be British. This plan interested Hali and Azad. Urdu literary critic Syed Abdul Latif, in discussing Hali, writes that one of his passages gives

"an account of the revulsion of feeling which came to him at the age of forty against all that he had so far written in the traditional style, the outstanding feature were such as artificiality, conventionality, and insincerity" ³⁷

As Azad wrote and Latif translated, English writers

"apply to the branches only as many imaginary flowers and leaves as naturally suit the original, and not (so many) as will obscure the trees and branches altogether, presenting nothing but a heap of leaves" ³⁸

Azad, especially, worked on a jointly sponsored project of the Punjab Government and the Anjuman-i-Punjab. In May 1874, Azad and Holroyd convened the first of a monthly series of large poetry meetings, called *mushairas*. At this first *mushaira*, Azad read a manifesto advocating the reformation of Urdu literature using English literary

standards. As B.M. Dattatreya Kaifi translated from Hali's introduction to the *Majmua-i-Nazm-i-Hali* :

"In 1874 when the writer of these lines was attached to the Government Book Depot and lived at Lahore, Anjuman-i-Punjab organised a symposium of poets at the suggestion of Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Azad and with the support of Colonel Holroyd, Director Public Instruction. This symposium used to meet once a month in the premises of the Anjuman. Its object was to enlarge the scope of Oriental poetry and base it on reality and verities which had hitherto been circumscribed and monopolized by amorousness and exaggeration."³⁹

In 1883, Muhammad Hussain Azad was appointed by Leitner as Professor of Arabic at Oriental College where he is remembered for having continually fanned the interest of his students in Urdu poetry. Azad wrote several books and translations of English works. His *Aab-e-Hayat*, a history of Urdu poetry was quickly recognized as a masterpiece when it appeared in 1881. Also the collation of Zauq's poems, that Azad had saved from the destruction of Delhi, earned Azad even more fame.⁴⁰ Altaf Hussain Hali after attending and contributing to four of the monthly *mushairas*, left Lahore for reasons of health. In Delhi, Hali taught at the Anglo-Arabic College where he came in contact with Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's movement.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was from a background similar to that Hali and Azad. Employed by the British Government before the 1857 uprising, he afterwards rose as a spokesman of Indian Muslims. Sir Syed wanted to simplify Urdu so that it could be used as a medium for print mass communication. Only thus, the Western ideas could be disseminated among the Indian Muslims. Sir Syed desired educational reform so that more Muslims would receive an Anglo-Islamic education enabling them to become partners with the powerful British in the administration of the Empire. Sir Syed also contemplated the religious reform for Islam to end what appeared to be inconsistencies between Western Science and Islam.

This reform movement, also known the Aligarh Movement and named after the city where Sir Syed built his famous university, absorbed Hali's energies.

"Somehow the great socio-religious reformer Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was struck with the idea that the new natural poetry may be utilised for socio-religious or communal purposes. Khawaja Altaf Hussain Hali took up the suggestion and sat down to write

his Musaddas which was the corner-stone of his literary fame"⁴¹

In 1879, Hali published the musaddas *Madd-o-Jazr-e-Islam*. His *Musaddas-e-Hali* bemoaned the condition of Islam, recounted how Islamic empires had risen and collapsed as well as recalled past Muslim glories. This poem spread like monsoon rains through Indian Muslim communities. The work in seven years went through six editions, was followed by a sequel, and sparked endless debates. Hali until after the turn of the century wrote more poetry, literary and social essays, letters, and his famous biographies of the Persian mystic poet Sadi, the Urdu poet Ghalib, and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.⁴²

When we record the adoption of the printing press by the Punjabis, we must discuss more than the number of presses physically present. So when we write about the concern that the members of the New School of Poetry expressed about literary style, we must uncover what underlay that concern. As the press was part of a print system on communication, composed of technical and social elements, so debates about style were part of a larger concern. Judging Urdu poetry by English literary standards is difficult. The aesthetic quality of traditional Urdu poetry is widely appreciated today in South Asia. Even Hali wrote late in his life that the literary movement in which he had participated was not just an imitating of Western styles, nor merely the application of Western standards.⁴³ Other indications lead us to look for more as the main themes than style. The emotional outpourings over talents "wasted" on traditional poetry indicate that these Indians had more than a stylistic concern. Some literary critics even today when recounting this period use literary convolutions to praise the simplicity of these reforms.

We must agree with Syed Abdul Latif that this dissatisfaction with Urdu literary standards was only the first manifestation of a 'broader contact between two cultures'.

"This dissatisfaction, it may be pointed out, was not voiced by any body of literary men deeply versed in English literature or whose early education and training were conducted exclusively on English lines, but by such as Sayyid Ahmad, Muhammed Shibli Nu'mani, and Muhammad Husayn Azad, whose formative period of life was spent in purely Eastern surroundings and in the pursuit of Eastern knowledge, and most of whom came under English influence only in their middle or advanced age."⁴⁴

We must also recall that the environment of North India at the time is what kept this stylistic revolt alive. As Hali himself wrote

"Had this movement taken its rise fifteen years earlier, it would probably not have borne any fruit Fortunately, however, this movement took its rise at a time when the spirit of Western ideas was being infused into the Urdu language. A good many books and essays on literary subjects had already been translated from English, and many more were in the process of translation."⁴⁵

The environment of the 1870s was different from that of 1857 or 1834, and a large part of that difference concerned with the relationship of the Indians with the print. As Hali indicated in the 1870s there were original printed works in Urdu and other vernacular languages, as well as translations by Indians into South Asian languages. Because of indigenous institutions supplemented by Western institutions, there was in the 1870s in India an infrastructure in which a print mass communication system could flourish.

Because of the influence of pioneers, Indians were now able to begin to use print for Indian purposes. Azad's father Moulvi Muhammad Baqir Ali had been an editor of the earliest Urdu newspaper, the *Dellhi Akhbar*.⁴⁶ Azad himself managed his father's printing press.⁴⁷ Sir Syed's elder brother, Syed Muhammad Khan, had started in 1837 in Delhi the second oldest Urdu newspaper, the *Sayyadul Akhbar*. After the death of his brother, Sir Syed edited the paper until it interfered with his writing.⁴⁸ Thus the heir of a publishing experimenter of the Mughal Court in the 1830s became in the 1870s, a widely read Muslim reformer and a statesman. Hali, who recited traditional poetry in pre-1857 Delhi gatherings, was read all over the country in the 1880s and 1890s. His *Musaddas-e-Hali* carried the Urdu reading public of the sub-continent and their listeners by storm. The infrastructure of a print mass communication system having been laid before the 1870s was now to be used for Indian purposes by the Indians.

What Leitner and Holroyd tapped was an ocean of dissatisfaction and cultural adjustment which would not remain channelled in literary criticism. Indians discussed style while an entire evaluation of their own position in relation to Western Civilization was in progress. As Sir Syed Ahmad Khan wrote about the purpose of Aligarh University:

"To make these facts clear to the minds of our countrymen, to educate them so that they may be able to appreciate these blessings, to *dispel* those illusory traditions of the past which have hindered our progress, to remove those prejudices which have hitherto exercised a baneful influence on our race, to reconcile Oriental learning

with Western literature and science, to inspire in the dreamy minds of the people of the East the practical energy which belongs to those of the West to make the Musalmans of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown, to inspire in them that loyalty which springs, not from servile submission to a foreign rule, but from genuine appreciation of the blessings of good government—these are the objects which the founders of the College have prominently in view ' 49

But this was only the beginning of reform and change, only the first few of the messages that would be sent by Indians *via* print to other Indians, because India was changing

"The close of the Sepoy Revolt opened a new epoch in all Indian Vernacular literatures. Delhi was without Bahadur Shah and Lucknow without Wajid Ali, Farrukhabad and Banda were gone. Rampur the only feeder left, could not keep the mainstream from running dry, while it was a far cry from the classical centres to Hyderabad Deccan. There remained no vestige of the old royalty and aristocracy which could set fashion and convention to those things and institutions which were the very life and soul of our literary taste and culture. Side by side with these momentous changes in the social and political environments of society there were for about half a century silently at work arts and sciences of the West, which brought in their wake as Macaulay had foreseen the ideas of democracy which are an offshoot of all constitutionalism. The new system of public instruction devised on Western lines was opening up new vistas, in fact a new horizon full of hitherto unknown intellectual and political wonders before them, which required a new angle of vision. The new education was setting adrift from their moorings the settled conviction of the people regarding society, art and culture. Thus were we constituted when Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan came out with their programme of reforms. These great reformers did not aim at inaugurating a new religion or society but to purify the minds of their respective co-religionists of all malpractices, evil customs and superstitions that had retarded all their material and spiritual advancement and to bring them back to the altar of the Vedas and the Quran. Once it was brought home to the people that all their social abuses and religious heresies were due to their getting off the gear of true religious principles, they were easily won over towards reforming their ways. It is a sociological truth that once you free a people of the fetters laid on the vital part, other parts will themselves be let loose as a matter of course in

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- 18, Charles Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1838)
- 19 J F Bruce, *A History of the University of the Punjab* (Lahore 1933) pp 76 77
- 20 *Ibid* pp 1-2
- 21 India 'General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories from 1854 55 to 1855 56 inclusive', *Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Foreign Department)* No XVIII (Calcutta 1856), p 45
- 22 Bruce, pp 2 3 1882 22
- 23 Chhabra, p 340, quoting from *Punjab Administrative Report 1849 51*
- 24 Bruce, p 3
- 25 H L C Garrett and Abdul Hamid, *A History of Government College Lahore 1864 1964* (Lahore: Dr Nazir Ahmad, Principal of Government College, Lahore, 1964), p 3
- 26 Bruce, pp 81 82, John Keay, *The Gilgit Game The Explorers of the Western Himalayas 1865-95* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1969), pp 18 21, and Mohindar Pal Kohli, *The Influence of the West on Punjabi Literature* (Ludhiana: Lyall Book Depot, 1969), p 220
- 27 Bruce, p 10
- 28 Punjab Home (Education) Department *Proceedings*, No 51, dated 14th April 1886, Appendix VIII, "Gazette Notification No 472, dated 8th December 1869" Also see, Bruce, pp 23 24 See also Appendix at the end of this book

In 1876, pressure from newly revived Sikh organizations led to the inclusion of Punjabi itself in the list of Punjabi vernacular languages to be presented Chhabra, p 408
- 29 Punjab Home (Education) Department *Proceedings* No 52, dated 15th April 1886 Bruce, pp 25 31
- 30 *Ibid*, p 54
- 31 *Ibid* pp 49-50
- 32 *Ibid*, p 51
- 33 Latif, *Lahore*, pp 323 325
- 34 L F Loveday Prior, *Punjab Interlude* (London: John Murray, 1952), p 58
- 35 Punjab, *Punjab Administrative Report 1875 76* (Lahore 1877), p 133

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37. Syed Abdul Latif, *The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature* (London: Foster Groom, 1924), p. 52.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
39. Dattatreya Kaifi, p. 128.
40. Sadiq, pp. 190-191. Dattatreya Kaifi, pp. 125-126.
41. Dattatreya Kaifi, p. 130.
42. Sadiq, pp. 264-265. For more information on Hali, see Sadiq, pp. 263-274 and Saksena, pp. 210-219, 279-282.
43. Latif, *Influence*, p. 61.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 47. Also see Dattatreya Kaifi, pp. 124-125.
45. Latif, *Influence*, p. 60.
46. K. Sajun Lal, "The Delhi Akhbar and Its Importance," *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, Deccan), Vol. 24, 1950, pp. 16-44. Sadiq, p. 400.
47. Dattatreya Kaifi, p. 128.
48. Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press: A History of Growth of Public Opinion in India*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1940), p. 231.
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RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL REFORM PRESS

THE concern that the chiefs, the nobles, and the people of Punjab expressed over the University of Punjab and Oriental College for their content to be processed within alien, Western, print related structures was magnified during the period of religious reform in the 1870s and 1880s. As the Punjabi Western educated and influential classes had encouraged the spread of Western secular knowledge through print, so did the religious reformers want to disseminate sacred knowledge by means of print. Out of this religious use of the press developed a new genre of the political press.

Since the time when the chiefs and nobles of Punjab had surrendered their sovereignty to the British in the 1840s, there had already been printing presses in Punjab, some of which were supported by princely patrons. These presses earned their keep either by defending the interests of their patrons, or by refraining to publish defamatory articles against their "blackmailed" patrons. The religious reformers had successfully demonstrated the political utility of the printing press as a mass medium for coordinating campaigns and also for popularizing an ideology. The political leaders followed suit in awakening to a similar utility of the printing press for political purposes. These new leaders employed the press to good advantage, especially during the period of struggle for Indian independence.

The political and religious use of the printing press was part of the Punjabi tendency to employ all modern technology, economics, politics, and law to implement (within the limits established by the British) the values and processes that were the heritage of Punjab.

Since the 1840s, these Punjabi values and patterns had to be expressed within a colonial structure. The colonial situation imposed certain conditions. Two outstanding features of this colonial situation were the aggressive character of the preaching of some Christians and the claims by the British that under the rule of law all were equal before the law, although the British were in some situations "more equal" than the Indians. Reasoning about the hostility shown by the Indians towards Christian preaching, Warren wrote :

"The Mohammedans and the Hindus would never have written against us, had they not seen that there was a danger to their system, to be averted if possible."

It is under such religio-political conditions that the use of the printing press developed.

The infrastructure which surrounded the press was also influenced, so that libraries, schools, bookstores, and publishing institutions all exhibited certain patterns. The growth of cheap, vernacular language newspapers with large circulations is one example. These politically and commercially oriented newspapers of the early twentieth century grew partly out of the late nineteenth century religious press which made veritable attempts to develop into an effective mass medium. Western models were imitated and absorbed. Pains were taken, however, to imbue these borrowings with a Punjabi flavoring. Politically and religiously sensitive journalism existed both because of the colonial environment as well as because of the heritage of religious activism in Punjab.

This heritage of religious tension, although it predates the advent of the British, was modified by the fact that in the 1840s Punjab became a stable part of the British Indian Empire. Because of the colonial situation in Punjab, the Christian missionaries could publicly denounce indigenous religions. They distributed printed material which not only proclaimed the value of Christianity, but also questioned the honor of Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism. Webster has pointed out that there existed both the Indian tendency to identify individuals by religion and caste plus "a form of Christian evangelism which virtually forced people to interact as spokesmen of the religious views of their respective communities."²

While the missionaries sought public debate and were argumentative, they continued to identify themselves and their interests with the British Government. British administrators, both civil and religious, tried to establish British political, military, economic, and educa-

tional dominance in Punjab. In education, for example, there was the rush for using a Roman script for Punjabi language and for the substitution of an English education for a Persian one as a preparation for government and ecclesiastical employment. These were the two attempts by the British to control the top of the educational hierarchy. The British usurped the status of skills they did not control (Urdu and Persian literary skills) and bestowed that status on skills they did master (English language skills).

To survive and prosper in colonial Punjab, the Punjabis had to be very careful and cautious. The British ruled the Punjabis and interfered in their lives. They were able to do this partly because they controlled a destructive potential in the form of military forces. The English, however, also ruled because their skills and habits wrought benefits for substantial numbers of the Punjabis. In exchange for a job or a section of irrigated land or security of landownership, or many other things, the Punjabis preferred to forsake their sovereignty. The terms of the barter for the independence of Punjab was open to continual negotiations. This was especially true because the world changed so much and so fast between 1832 and 1947 that not even the British themselves could have presaged in 1832 as to what terms and conditions would have guaranteed them dominance through the twentieth century.

What the Punjabis learned to do to protect their individual and group security was to follow British rules, using European technology and social patterns. "Traditional" leaders and their followers had been the caretakers of the Punjabi resources. To displace the British, the modern Punjabi leaders had to employ modern methods to good advantage. Among the first Punjabis to learn this lesson were leaders like Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who had engaged French officers to train his army. Before 1849, several Punjabi nobles sent their wards to schools in British controlled India.

To supplement these efforts of the Punjabis who had imbibed British ideas, there were other Indians who came with the British to Punjab, especially the Bengalis and the Hindustanis. The British needed trained personnel to control Punjab after its annexation. They needed more personnel than could be supplied from their own ranks. The editor-owners of the *Koh-i-Nur* and the *Lahore Chronicle* included Hindustanis who had learned their modern skills while under British rule. Harsukh Rai had been invited to Lahore by the British. Muhammad Azim joined with Indians and British officials in a corporation created to finance the *Lahore Chronicle*. The Bengalis and other North Indians came to Punjab as soldiers, clerks, Christian

missionaries, lawyers, teachers, and in many other roles that were needed to manage a modern empire. These non-Punjabis had the advantage of having associations with the British prior to the annexation of Punjab. Many had been through Western modelled schools and training programs. Even after Punjab was annexed, it was decades before there were sufficient Punjabi graduates to fill imperial and provincial positions. By then, the Hindustanis and the Bengalis had introduced to the Punjabis the political and social ideas which they had learned from the British.³

These Bengalis and Hindustanis were educated in using modern means to obtain Indian ends. They had become members of an increasingly modern world. More and more of them were educated in British schools. They were mobile and urban. Their position in the Empire gave them control of resources and ideas. Through voluntary associations, such as religious reform sects, the Indians jointly set into action values and patterns which were a part of their Indian heritage, a heritage now modified by their new imperial roles and their contact with a modern world.

Literary societies like the Anjuman-i-Punjab, where Indians could organize themselves and apply Western criteria to their Indian heritage, were modified by religious Punjabis. The structure of the literary society was borrowed. Even the legal framework of the older associations was usurped. As a 1923 Report of the Government of Punjab stated :

“Literary societies, as the term is understood in the West, can hardly be said to exist in the Punjab. Machinery for the incorporation of such societies is provided by Act XXI of 1860, but most of the bodies which seek registration under the Act are not of a literary character. Numerous societies, both registered and unregistered, indeed have come into being, especially of recent years, the majority of which, however, are primarily religious and are meant for the advancement of the interests of particular communities which they profess to represent. Among such may be mentioned the various branches of the Arya Samaj and the Sanatan Dharm Sabha among Hindus, the Khalsa Diwan among Sikhs, and the many Muhammadan Anjumans. A few bodies are, however, established on a broader basis, and as they include individuals of all classes, and denominations, their usefulness is not cramped by any sectarian limitations.”⁴

A similar phenomenon has been analysed and examined by anthropologists Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph in their book *The*

*Modernity of Tradition*⁵ Their topic is present day caste associations where birth in a caste is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for membership. This type of activity occurred in Punjab after the 1880s. Caste associations developed and those such as the Association of the Arains continue to exist in Lahore from where they did and do publish books and newspapers. Besides the caste associations specifically, the pattern, the Rudolphs discuss, had evolved in sectarian organizations. These religious associations were training areas for political attempts to obtain independence from Britain. Generally, these were the arenas for testing innovations, such as the print as a mass medium. These associations were the testing grounds for modernity itself.

Those who had the longest experience among the South Asians in examining British ways were the Bengalis. As a reaction to contact with the British, some Bengalis established the Brahmo Samaj, a reform sect of Hinduism. Brahmo Samajis were Indians who like their founder, Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833), had been exposed to Western ideas when the British ruled Bengal and had modified their religious heritage according to standards they considered universal encompassing East and West. They were at the same time Hindus and Unitarians. The leaders of the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal (Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Debendra Nath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen) were closely involved in the use of the printing press and educational institutions to spread their ideas. As mentioned earlier, Raja Ram Mohun Roy was a friend of the English newspaper editor, Buckingham. Roy had started his *Brahmanical Journal* before Buckingham was exiled. About 1819, Roy and his colleague Reverend William Adam, established a printing press and the Vedanta College in Calcutta as a part of the Unitarian Mission.⁶ Debendra Nath Tagore joined the Brahmo Samaj in 1842 and soon after started a journal and a Vedic school. Keshab Chandra Sen became a member in 1857 and was involved with several periodicals including *The Indian Mirror* and the *Sulah Samachar*. The former was an English language daily and the latter a Bengali language weekly.⁷

In Punjab, most of the members of the Brahmo Samaj were urban dwellers. Many Brahmo Samajis were active reformers in religious, social, and educational affairs. Their missionary organization, the Sadhanashram, sent missionaries to various corners of Punjab. The Sadhanashram published literature in Urdu and Hindi and produced a fortnightly Urdu journal.⁸

A famous Punjabi supporter of the Brahmo Samaj was the Sikh

nobleman, Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, who, contributed large sums of money in trusts to finance a college, a public library, and a newspaper, all of which were beacons of a liberal nationalism. In 1881, the Bengali Brahmo Samaji, Surendra Nath Bannerji, during his tour of India, encouraged Dayal Singh to start a newspaper. When Dayal Singh agreed, Bannerji supplied him both the machinery and the first editor.⁹ Thus they had begun *The Tribune* one of the most prestigious English Newspapers. Bhagat Lakshman Singh, the editor of the Sikh newspaper the *Khalsa*, wrote in his autobiography that Dayal Singh :

“was not a Sikh in the accepted sense. He was not a Hindu. He was not a Muslim, nor a Christian. The only people who belonged to none of these organizations, or who had no religious bias of any kind and thought themselves, or were believed to be, on a higher cultural plane, approached him. To men of this sort ultimately went the vast estate of a great Sikh dynasty carved by Sikh genius and built of Sikh blood-bricks.”¹⁰

The activity of men like Dayal Singh acted as a spark in Punjab, starting an open evaluation of the role of the Punjabis in the Empire and in the modern world. Thus the students, government employees, physicians, educators, and lawyers came to Brahmo Samaj discussions. They came to evaluate their heritages. The Brahmo Samaj, however, was never as popular as the Arya Samaj, born later.¹¹

The founder of the Arya Samaj, Swami Dayanand Sarasvati (1824-25—1883) was a Gujarati youth when he left home to study Hinduism as a wandering holy man. In North India, he entered into formal debates with the Hindu pandits using Sanskrit as the language of debate. Then he tried to establish Sanskrit schools similar in structure to those of the missionaries. Finally, he lectured and wrote books for the masses. In 1872, Swami Dayanand spent four months in Calcutta, lecturing and discussing. He met Keshab Chandra Sen of the Brahmo Samaj. He exchanged his scanty garb for a suit of clothes. The new attire was a copy of the dress worn by leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. This uniform was in turn a modification of missionary clothing. Also, seeing the effective use Keshab Chandra Sen made use of a vernacular language Bengali, Dayanand often replaced Sanskrit with Hindi in public lectures. At the imperial celebration of the 1877 Delhi Durbar, several Hindus from Lahore had an audience with Swami Dayanand and invited him to Punjab. While Swami had met with only moderate success in North India and Bombay, his popularity was spectacular in Punjab,

The Lahore branch of Arya Samaj soon eclipsed the work of original headquarters in Bombay.¹²

Swami Dayanand lived six more years preaching the past and the future glory of the Aryan race. According to him all the then present scientific discoveries could be found in the sacred Hindu scriptures the *Vedas*. The Arya Samaj also proclaimed a reformed Hinduism, the one where equality existed among all members inspite of caste. Besides raising the ire of orthodox Hindu leaders Dayanand took an aggressive stand against Christianity, Islam and Sikhism. Hostility enflamed Arya Samajis and Muslim relations. In 1882, for instance, the Arya Samajis started an association for the protection of the cow, the Gaurakshini Sabha. The continual attempts by Arya Samajis to prevent Muslims from butchering cows was a constant emotional irritant to Hindu Muslim relations. The newspapers of Punjab up to World War I reported both on Hindu demonstrations and legal manoeuvres to close down Muslim butcher stalls and on the often violent confrontations with Muslims that followed. Still another source of conflict was Arya Samajis' attempts to substitute Hindi for Urdu as the official vernacular language of Punjab.

To campaign for the various reforms they wanted, the Arya Samajis used tactics and tools which they had watched missionaries employ.

"Borrowing agitation techniques from the West, Aryas founded newspapers, popularized street preaching, sent missionaries to the rural areas, and attacked Muslims with a flood of literature and posters."¹³

In 1882 after the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Lahore branch of the Arya Samaj several young Arya Samajis organized an English weekly newspaper, *The Regenerator of the Arjavarta*. Working without remuneration as a labour of love, the editors, especially Lala Hansraj turned the newspaper into an unofficial organ of the Arya Samaj of Lahore.

"The Regenerator made an incessant war on many of the superstitious beliefs, so tenaciously held at the time. It was intended to make it a popular forum where all questions that might interest the Arya Samaj could be discussed."¹⁴

The print facilities and other support systems that the Arya Samajis developed were forums in two ways. First, they were a means of communication among people when they were not face to face

Thus, Lala Lajpat Rai and Lala Hansraj could communicate every week with thousands of people whom they had never seen. Through the mail, they could also "hear" what their readers thought about their ideas. The various print institutions acted as a social forum bringing people into active contact with each other and the leaders of the Arya Samaj. The print-related activities also provided opportunities where young people could practise leadership roles and make contact with established leaders in a constructive manner. Lala Lajpat Rai went on to render valuable services in national politics during the national struggle for independence. His later political activities grew out of his earlier training into the tenets of Arya Samaj.

Lala Hansraj, after the death of Swami Dayanand, proposed that as a memorial for Dayanand an Anglo-Vedic college be established.¹⁵ The institution, called the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (D.A.V.) College, Lahore was started in 1887. The goals of the D.A.V. College were similar to that of the Punjab University as envisioned by the Anjuman-i-Punjab. The objectives of the D.A.V. College included :

1. To encourage, improve and enforce the study of Hindu literature.
2. To encourage and enforce the study of classical Sanskrit and the *Vedas*.
3. To encourage and enforce the study of English literature and sciences, both theoretical and applied.¹⁶

Although the D.A.V. College drew on a narrower cultural tradition, yet it attempted to commingle the vernacular and the foreign. The most significant difference between the D.A.V. College and the University of Punjab was that the latter had an open attitude towards the role of the foreigners in national education. The D.A.V. College was born independent of the University and unlike the University of Punjab rarely sought the close cooperation, dominance, or even approval of the British. In 1915, G.A. Chandavarkar, in an article on Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore, wrote :

"For that group of individuals whose ancient literature deserves preservation and history needs commemoration, a system of education conducted by a foreign agency through the medium of an alien tongue produces a *schism* in the society and ultimately gives rise to incalculable mischief. Foreigners even with the best of intentions find it difficult, if not impossible, to sound and

appreciate the indigenous wants of a strange society and more so to adopt a system suitable to its national aspirations and requirements. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the introduction of English education in India has had, no doubt, the effect of enlightening many a thousand minds and of producing intellectual grants of whom the country might very well feel proud. But the inevitable schismatic tendencies of the one-sided system of education began to assert themselves and an educated class which moved by itself, felt by itself and thought by itself was created. Such a class was utterly incapable of influencing or of being influenced by the uneducated masses. The benign British Government, however, with a view to encourage oriental learning started such institutions as the 'Oriental College' but the education imparted even here was not of the best type. Here an exclusive attention was paid to the Sanskrit and the degenerate period. The thick veil of oblivion hanging over the best fruits of the classical period was never lifted."¹⁷

After eulogising the commendable efforts of Swami Dayanand in "infusing a new life into the dead or dying bones of the Hindu society", Chandravarkar made a revealing statement:

"The gush of foreign ideas received an effective check and a passion and an ebullition for the study of classical Sanskrit and Hindi, a common, vernacular, was evolved in the public mind."¹⁸

Although Chandravarkar wanted to encourage foreign ideas within the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, yet he felt that there could be and had been too many alien concepts introduced too quickly. When there is a "gush" of new ideas, then the harm is done.

What the Arya Samajis and so many other Indian reformers wanted was to modernize India, but not to westernize it, not to become a carbon-copy, and a nation of dark skinned aliens. The Hindu Arya Samajis, the Islamic Ahmadiyyas, and the Sikh Akalis wanted the power that modern technology seemed capable of releasing, but they did not want their children taught solely the Roman script, for instance, so that classical vernacular works became unintelligible. They did not want the heritage of Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, of all India to be cast aside like a dry husk. There were Indians who felt that their ancient literature deserved preservation and their history was worthy of commemoration. The Muslims also were infected with a similar spirit. Between 1849 and 1884, they formed many cultural associations. Early associations such as the Anjuman-i-Punjab were spurred on by Christian missionaries and British civil

servants. These early societies during the last half of the nineteenth century were used by Muslims to pressurize the British to increase the number of Muslims employed in the bureaucracy and educational system of the Government.¹⁹

In the early years, the Muslims and the Hindus allied themselves against the British on the issue of government schools imparting solely Western education. By the late 1870s, however, the activities of the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj had introduced an element of Hindu militancy. The Muslims then borrowed the structure of the cultural *anjumans* to start organizations for reform and revival. An example of this was the Anjuman-i-Islami, Lahore. Founded in 1869 by conservative aristocrats to protect religious endowments, the Anjuman-i-Islami was recast in the 1870s. In 1877, Malik Barkat Ali, the secretary of the Anjuman turned the society into a reform association which actively supported the Muslim reformer, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Barkat Ali desired to modernize Islam. Under him the Anjuman-i-Islami established twenty branches in Punjab, built schools, and started newspapers including the *Rissalah Anjuman Islami Punjab*. The proclamation of reforms made by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan not only roused his supporters but also orthodox Muslims to publish journals.²⁰ Natarajan states that many of these orthodox periodicals were closely associated with individual sponsors.

Malik Barkat Ali thus implemented the ideas of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, a Hindustani Muslim leader, who after the fateful episode of 1857 left government service to undertake the campaign for modernizing Islam. He was especially concerned about Muslim students whom he wanted to be educated in English in Western modelled colleges controlled by the Muslims.²¹ In Punjab, besides Barkat Ali and the Anjuman-i-Islami, Sir Syed also influenced such other Muslims as Muhammad Shafi, who was a lawyer and under whom middle class Muslims began to revive another organization, the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (The Society for the Defense of Islam) founded in 1866. The goals of this society again reveal a consciousness of the power of literacy and the press for a reform movement. Its goals were :

1. (a) Rationally and intelligently to answer, through verbal discussion or in writing, any accusations advanced against Islam, and to further its propagation.

(b) To impart suitable and necessary education to Muslim boys and girls, and save them from abjuring their own true faith.

(c) To take upon itself the maintenance and education, to the best of its ability, of Muhammadan orphans, and to render all possible educational aid to poor Muslim boys and girls, so as to save them from falling into the hands of the followers of other religions

- 2 For the realisation of its objects, the Anjuman shall appoint preachers, issue a monthly magazine, establish educational institutions and orphanages, and make use of other necessary means ²

The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam became very active in establishing high schools, colleges, and orphanages. English education was compulsory in these institutions. Several schools were devoted to female education. In Lahore, there were nine girls' schools, two large boys' schools, and an Arts College called Islamia College which enrolled two hundred students.

Besides founding educational institutions, the Muslims made use of mass media also. Here they followed the example of the Arya Samaj. The Muslims organized a system of street preaching. They not only produced publications defending their religion, but also set up an organization the Muhammadan Tract Society of Lahore in 1882 to publish on a regular basis.²³ By 1892, they had published at least twenty items either for Islam or against Hinduism. In the 1880s and 1890s, the trend among Muslims was to produce

'preachers, teachers, and missionaries of a more modern type. They wish them to be cultured men, fit to lead and teach those who have had an English education; and they wish them to be well-trained theologians able to defend Islam against Christian, Arya and Hindu criticism, and to carry the war into the enemy's territory.'²⁴

The leaders of Islam were to be of a "more modern type". They were to use modern tools to express an Islamic heritage. An excellent Punjabi instance of this was the efforts of the Ahmadiyya sect which was founded by a Punjabi Muslim, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1839-1908), a contemporary of the Christian convert, Imad ud-din. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad responded both to the preachings of the Christian and the Arya Samaj missionaries and to what Mirza Ahmad called God's revelation. Mirza Ahmad took upon himself the defense and propagation of Islam. His basic education consisted of private tutoring in an Islamic tradition. Then he remained for four years in the courts of Sialkot studying law. Here he came in contact with Christians and learned English.

In the late 1870s, he started his *jihad*, his debates in the defense of Islam. The declamations were circulated through newspapers and journals. A prize was often offered to the challenged. Some debates were carried on only by means of newspapers. Ahmad preached in rural areas and medium-sized cities such as Sialkot, Amritsar, and Ludhiana. His message produced a positive response among rural and small town, middle class Muslims. With the passage of time a community of believers formed around Ahmad, whose teachings led this community further and further into controversial beliefs.

Besides debates and newspaper announcements, Mirza Ahmad soon produced a flood of books and pamphlets explaining his beliefs. In 1874, Swami Dayanand wrote his famous book *Satyarth Prakash*, wherein Islam and Christianity were grilled. The first printed Islamic response to Dayanand's *Satyarth Prakash* was Ahmad's *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyah*, a four volume Urdu work published in 1880. This work is characterized by a logical and systematic organization and approach. Such works attracted primarily land-owning and professional readers among Urdu reading Muslims. Ahmad's audience included fewer intellectuals than those in the Aligarh Movement of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

As a communication medium, Mirza Ahmad found duelling with books and pamphlets inadequate because all his opponents, the Christians, the Arya Samajis, the members of the Islamic sect, the Ahl-i-Hadiths, and later the Sikhs had control over one or the other newspaper. The ownership of a newspaper proved advantageous in public conflicts.

The troubles erupting out of Pandit Lekh Ram's murder amply demonstrated this advantage in good measure. Pandit Lekh Ram was the editor of the *Arya Gazette*, the only vernacular weekly of Arya Samaj at that time. After Swami Dayanand's death, he used his paper to attack Islam and Mirza Ahmad's beliefs. Between 1885 and 1897, Lekh Ram used his knowledge of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu to substantiate his statements in pamphlets, books, and the *Arya Gazette*. The Ahmadiyyas were a frequent target of his bitter attacks.

In March 1897, Pandit Lekh Ram was murdered by a Muslim who was living with him. Communal tensions engulfed Western Punjab. Soon it was learned that Mirza Ahmad, in one of his many prophecies, had foretold the death of Pandit Lekh Ram. Accusations followed alleging that Ahmad had taken some part in the murder in

order to insure the accuracy of his prophesy. Several newspapers of the day, including the *Akhbar-i-Aam*, the *Bharat Sudhar*, the Christian *Nur-i-Afshan*, and the Muslim *Mullah Ja'far Zatali*, all attacked Mirza Ahmad.

Mirza Ahmad and his followers established newspapers to defend themselves. By 1898, the *al-Hakam* of Qadiyan emerged as Ahmad's spokesman. This Urdu newspaper was but one of a series of newspapers and journals the Ahmadiyyas controlled. Now the Ahmadiyyas had another means to expound publicly on the articles of their faith. Also Mirza Ahmad could answer and challenge his many opponents.²⁵ Muhammad Hussain and his sect, the Ahl-i-Hadith, when they wrote against Ahmad in their *Ish'at-i-Sunnah*. Mullah Muhammad Bakhsh when he satirized the Ahmadiyyas in his *Mullah Ja'far Zatali* of Lahore, Imad-ud-din and other Christians when they criticized Islam in their *Nur-i-Afshan* of Ludhiana, and even such Sikh newspapers as the *Khalsa Gazette* and the *Singh Sahai* when Sikhs reacted negatively to Ahmad's proclamation that the founder of the Sikhs, Guru Nanak, had actually been a Muslim.²⁶

Although Mirza Ahmad's movement had originally begun as neither an educational nor a social reform movement, yet the Ahmadiyyas began to gather into communities and to evolve a distinctive manner of living. They supplemented their journalistic activities with school and educational customs. One such custom enjoined that not only should all Ahmadiyyas, men and women, be literate but that the servants employed by Ahmadiyyas should also be functionally literate. Mirza Ahmad's teachings soon touched many aspects of the lives of his followers. Over the decades, this control of the community has become centralized. In 1915, the organization called the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Islam was established. It encouraged Ahmadiyya primary schools in the Punjab, founded a Training College at Qadiyan for missionaries of the Ahmadiyya faith, and coordinated the translation of the *Quran* into English and Urdu. Even today in Pakistan, the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Islam publishes scores of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's and his successors's writings in English, Urdu, and several foreign languages for distribution in Africa, America, and Western Europe, wherever Ahmadiyya missions are flourishing.

The title of one of the Anjuman's Urdu serials, *Tarikh-i-Jadid* (The Modern Movement) is significant. This sect of Islam is strikingly similar to many of the other Islamic, Hindu, Sikh, and Christian associations, that it so bitterly fought in the late 1800s

Muslims, the Sikhs had neither a vast all-Indian nor an international pool of believers to insure their survival in the face of Punjabi losses. Mirza Ahmad, as has been stated, wrote that Guru Nanak was actually a Muslim and that the Sikhs are thus akin to the Muslim. The Christian missionaries valued the Sikhs as converts. The greatest threat, however, came from the Hindu community to which the Sikhs were culturally the closest.

Many a Sikhs identified themselves closely with the Hindus.⁸ Both of them shared many a common customs. The Sikhs joined many apparently Hindu associations. Dayal Singh Majithia was but one of the Sikhs who actively participated in the Brahmo Samaj. The Sikh youths also worked in the Arya Samaj.⁹ As the Arya Samaj became increasingly nationalistic, serious trouble arose tending to tear the two communities asunder. The Arya Samaj had instituted a program for converting the Muslims and the Christians into the Hindus. The Arya Samajis also made efforts to eradicate and if not that, then to minimize caste distinctions. Thus the low caste Hindus and others were tempted to join the Arya Samaj. A community of rural, low caste Sikhs, seeking among other things to better their lot, applied for admission to Arya Samaj. The Sikh leaders, especially those who had worked within the Arya Samaj, were distressed to learn that not only would these Sikhs be accepted but also that these converts would be required in a public ceremony to cut their hair and also to discard the consecrated five symbols of being a Sikh. To counteract the effect of this incident, the Khalsa Sudhar Sabha quickly published thousands of leaflets in Gurmukhi character and broadcast them all over the province, particularly, where the Arya Samaj was carrying on its operations.¹⁰

In the late 1870s and early 1880s, the Sikh reformers increasingly turned their energies from the Hindu and non-sectarian associations to organizations that dealt primarily with the Sikh problems and were composed mostly of the Sikhs. According to the historian G S Chhabra

"The matter was actually precipitated when a Hindu missionary erected a pulpit in the vicinity of the Golden Temple and openly vilified the teachings and achievements of the Sikh Gurus. This stung the Sikhs of Amritsar to activity."¹¹

These Sikhs invested their time, as their Hindu and Muslim counterparts had, in already established organizations like the Singh Sabha. These older associations then bloomed and both grew and splintered. Personality differences became a major obstacle on the plans of action prior to the 1890s.

The Singh Sabhas were established in 1873 in Amritsar (revived in 1876) and in 1879 in Lahore. The two sabhas prospered vying with each other. Soon there were branches of these two organizations in many Punjabi cities.³² The purposes of these sabhas were :

1. To define the principles of Sikh religion and to preach them among the people.
2. To bring in the market those books in which Sikh religion was explained and praised.
3. To collect the doubtful Sikh literature, such as *pothis* and correct it by additions and substractions.
4. To develop Punjabi language and to publish papers and magazines in it.
5. The opponents of the Sikh faith, or those who were converted from it, unless they came back into the Sikh faith and accept due punishment for their hostile activities, could not become its members.
6. Europeans and others could become its members if they were favourably disposed towards its programmes.
7. The Sabha was not to say or preach any thing against any other faith.
8. Nothing was to be said against the Government. The movement would be faithful to them.³³

Khushwant Singh has thus summarized these objectives of the Singh Sabha in a nut-shell :

1. To arouse a love of religion among Sikhs.
2. To propagate the true Sikh religion everywhere.
3. To print book on the greatness and truth of the Sikh religion.
4. To propagate the words of the gurus.
5. To publish periodicals to further the Punjabi language and education.³⁴

While these Sikh reformers distinguished themselves from the Hindus and the Muslims (as in 1905 when The Hindu idols were removed from the Golden Temple of Amritsar), they still

concerned themselves with social issues almost identical to those interested the Muslims and the Hindu reforms. Caste, child marriage, expensive weddings, widow remarriage, and temperance were often the issues of discussion. The Sikh behavior was also similar. Schools and newspapers were established. Orphanages and tract societies were founded. The stated goals and the actions of these Sikh organizations, although later in time, were parallel to those of other movements.

The emphasis on print and print-related structures and systems was also common to these movements. In Punjab, the age of religious controversy at the turn of the century was an age of pamphleteering. Some leaders wrote over a hundred tracts. While historians have tended to concentrate on the content that appeared in these works and on the influence of these works on political history of Punjab, here we are concerned with the infrastructure that was needed to enable the thinkers and leaders of Punjab to be such voluminous pamphleteers. The technology of the press, financial networks supporting even temporary presses, commercial systems supplying raw materials and distributing the finished products, an intellectual community penning the thought literary content, and finally literate readers purchasing and reading these works, all these and more were essential. By drawing on the skills and materials of the secular marketplace, from the experience the Punjabis gained from government education, military and civil employment, by belonging to associations such as the Arya Samaj and finally by making mistakes and learning from experience, the Punjabis soon had an impressive list of accomplishments.

Enthusiasm and trial and error carried the day, but it was slow work, taking decades of effort. Early attempts of individuals and early Singh Sabhas led to a pattern of a rapid rise and fall of print enterprises prior to 1900. The Sikh associations like the Khalsa Tract Society "institutionalized the spread and popularity of Sikh literature in the Gurmukhi script."²⁵ Over a dozen papers owed their existence to Singh Sabha movement.²⁶ The Sikhs were "quick to appreciate the potential of this channel for disseminating ideas and news."²⁷ Still improper financing and the lack of experience led to failures. Sikh newspapers often were established to campaign on one set of issues. Unless patronized by a wealthy man, slim budgets meant that when enthusiasm faltered, subscriptions declined, and the newspaper then waited (if it could survive) for a new issue or conflict before returning to life like a phoenix.²⁸

The early decades of the twentieth century saw not only an

increase in the number of Sikh journals, but also specialization and longer life-spans. During this period, the new Sikh leaders replaced those leaders who had depended on informal contacts to meet common threats, or to establish such bodies as the Khalsa College. The older leaders had spent their energies, that of a generation, bitterly bickering over internal matters.

"The almost geometric multiplication of organizations made impossible the maintenance of satisfactory informal contacts among Sabhas. Unnecessary duplication of programs and large projects requiring united action (such as the virtual bankruptcy of Khalsa College) pointed to the utility of a central agency to coordinate and in a limited sense to guide the smaller units."²⁹

When by 1900 several of the founding fathers had taken their personal feuds with them to their graves, a new generation led by Sardar Singh Majithia formed in 1902 the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar whose goals were :

1. To strengthen and develop the Khalsa College into a premier institution to impart higher education.
2. To organize an educational movement among the Sikhs, and to establish more schools and colleges.
3. To improve Punjabi literature.³⁰

The Chief Khalsa Diwan performed several services for the Singh Sabhas. First it enabled the educated Sikhs to meet one another. As delegates they came to monthly meetings and conferences to discuss Sikh problems. Also the Diwan assisted such institutions as the Amritsar Orphanage and the Khalsa Tract Society. It supplied preachers, singers, and tour groups for local religious gatherings. The Chief Khalsa Diwan also enunciated theological and social positions both to and on behalf of the Sikh community. In April 1908, an Educational Committee affiliated with the Chief Khalsa Diwan coordinated the first annual Sikh Educational Conference. The Conference collected funds (over Rs. 200,000 in a "national fund" by 1920), administered schools and gave thousands of Sikhs another forum for discussing education and related topics. By 1912, the Sikhs had two colleges, forty nine boys' schools at several levels, thirty-three girls' schools, and two theological seminaries.³¹

The Sikhs also tried to coordinate print activities, especially the volatile world of Sikh pamphleteers. A successful genre since the first Singh Sabhas, the pamphlets and tracts were written, published,

and distributed by individual Sikhs using only their own resources.⁴ According to N. Gerald Barrier, the tracts could be classified into two categories. Some works carried a message of *ailan* or *binti* (appeal), commonly to request support for an organization, project or idea. The increase of *binti* items after 1900 indicates the success of this genre. The most popular of the tracts, however, were polemic, often short pieces attacking enemies or defending a cause. The titles of such tracts often proclaimed their style and purpose: "a war", "a crushing defeat", "a demolishing attack on fools", "refutation of lies". A work written by Avtar Singh in response to a tract *Sikh Hindu Hain* (which alleged that the Sikhs were Hindus) was titled "as the face breaking reply," *Jeha Mooln Tehi Chaped arthai Moonh Tod Khandan*. Barrier points out that for the Sikhs the late nineteenth century was "the time for the drawing of bows, [when] publicists were quick to reach for their pens. . . . Punjabi has a store of insults and derogatory terms, and probably these have never been put to more devastating use than when Sikh opponents locked horns."

Although the adventures of individual pamphleteers continued, yet the bulk of religious propaganda was carried on by the societies. Established in 1894, soon the Khalsa Tract Society led in the production of small, cheap books on theological and social topics. The Society survived on subscriptions. In 1901, for instance, 369 subscribers donated approximately one rupee a month for which they received a copy of publications like the "Sat Sri Akal" of the *Panth*. Eight years later, the Society published 192 items and distributed over half a million copies. Guidelines for perspective contributors reflect the aims of the organization.

"Essays were to be brief and to the point, suitable for both men and women, and in 'pure' Punjabi (Gurmukhi script). Authors should support their arguments with scripture and not speak against other religions."⁵

The Society published scriptures and prayers, biographies, and didactic tales on morals, society, and religion. It also printed dictionaries, glossaries, and two Khalsa directories of the members of Singh Sabhas and of the Sikhs employed in government service. The organizations such as the Sikh Book Club of Peshawar soon challenged the monopoly of the Khalsa Tract Society. By 1911, the Club and its successor, the Panch Khalsa Agency, had printed 125 items on religious matters. These two agencies in turn were supplemented

by Punjabi Prachar societies which printed translations and original works in Gurmukhi.

An innovation in the preparation of inexpensive literature came in 1908 with the founding of the Khalsa Handbill Society which published as many as twenty thousand copies of a work for free distribution among villagers who had been untouched by urban meetings or periodicals. Basically a rural community, urban Sikhs were among the first to reach out from the cities in a sustained manner to the villages.⁴¹

The groups of Sikhs, who were independent of the Singh Sabhas, also used the printing press. These Sikhs ranged from members of small sects to the Akalis. The Akali Sikh Movement of the 1920s concentrated on reform within Sikhism. In 1923, the Sikh Maharaja of a Punjabi princely state was deposed. This created a furore in the community. The political implications soon drew in the Congress Party and the national interest. In all, fifteen dailies, eight journals which appeared every fifth day, sixty-seven weeklies, four fortnightlies, and twenty-five monthlies were published in Punjabi advocating Sikh related reforms. The most significant enterprise of this movement was the establishment of *The Hindustan Times* of Delhi. This paper started with Akali funds and developed into one of the top four most prestigious English language dailies in India.⁴⁵

Besides these religious groups of the Sikhs who employed print, political organizations, dominated by the Sikhs, also used the press. Both the Punjabi Communist Party and the Ghadar Movement were heavily influenced by the Sikhs. The Ghadar Party, particularly, shows the extent to which the Punjabis went in order to publish their ideas. Between 1907 and 1913, several thousand Indian immigrants, and many of them were the Punjabis settled on the West Coast of Canada and the United States. In 1911, Lala Har Dayal, a Punjabi Hindu activist, arrived in Berkeley, California. He urged his fellow immigrants to prepare for a fight against British imperialism in India. In 1913, Lala Har Dayal founded the newspaper, *Ghadar*, in the United States. Translated into various South Asian languages, it circulated not only among North American Indian immigrants but was also smuggled into India.⁴⁶

This mention of the *Ghadar* is our bridge from the topic of the religious reform press to that of the political reform press. The *Ghadar* was what so many other nationalistic papers were, papers

which developed from a tradition of religious reform agitation and discussion within an imperialistic setting. The political reform press of the pre-independence period was in fact a synthesis of two strains—one was old and the other new.

The political press inherited its content from newspapers beginning with the *Koh-i-Nur*, the *Lahore Chronicle*, and the *Civil and Military Gazette* of the days before 1857. Political and military events and announcements had been deemed worthy of being printed ever since the annexation of Punjab in 1840. Thus, content wise the new political press between 1900 and 1947 was not new but it had its moorings in the past.

This new press was remarkable for its structure. The prosperity of the religious reform press in establishing lines of communication with the masses was the distinguishing feature of the new political press. In the words of Bhagat Lakshman Singh, the editor of *The Khalsa*, the Singh Sabha Movement was born of the "need felt for an organization that should voice true public opinion and watch the Sikh Panthic interests"⁷. So also, the political parties emerged establishing and employing presses.

Although the early papers such as the *Civil and Military Gazette* tried to reflect public opinion, yet the public whose opinions were reflected was small. For the *Gazette*, its public was "the services, civil and military, in India"⁸ that is largely the community of the European. Even a vernacular newspaper such as the *Koh-i-Nur* (1850-1904), the outstanding Urdu newspaper of nineteenth century Punjab, mirrored only a small European oriented section of the population. Its circulation was impressive for its times. By the end of 1850, it had 257 subscribers and by 1856, 349 readers. Heavily patronized by the native rulers of Kashmir and Patiala and by the British, its readership was scattered throughout India.

Also the *Koh-i-Nur* was literally a newspaper. It contained no commentary or editorials on current events and issues. Instead the *Koh-i-Nur* printed rules, acts, and notices of appointments and dismissals of Government personnel taken from the Government's official *Gazette*, not the *Civil and Military Gazette*. There were also "some news of foreign countries taken from English newspapers, some statistics, interspersed occasionally by some query and answer or some literary subject". It published both news from various parts of India furnished by other newspapers as well as provincial and local news. The nearest to editorials were infrequent "appreciative notes about the British administration in the Province coupled

with some suggestions . . ."⁴⁹ The *Koh-i-Nur* merely translated into Urdu news that were current in the European community in India. It seemed an unlikely predecessor for such nationalistic papers as the *Zamindar*, whose staff searched 'the solar system for adjectives to describe the plight of Indians under British imperialism.

Part of the transition from the *Koh-i-Nur* (Mountain of Light) to the *Zamindar* (Land-holder) was evident in the *Akhbar-i-Aam* (Newspaper of the People) (1870-1930) which was cheaper; had a larger circulation and allowed itself short, cryptic editorial comments. While the *Koh-i-Nur* cost thirteen rupees a year, the *Akhbar-i-Aam* cost only two and a half rupees. The *Akhbar-i-Aam* was the first regularly published Urdu daily in Western Punjab. In 1897, its daily circulation was 2,600, while its weekly edition reached an added thousand subscribers.

A further step in the development of the Urdu Press was the replacement of the *Koh-i-Nur* by *Akhbar-i-Aam* with its cheaper rates, and the phenomenn was repeated by *Paisa Akhbar* in replacing *Akhbar-i-Aam*. The *Paisa Akhbar*, begun in 1887, cost the reader only a pice, a sixty-fourth part of a rupee, per copy. Yet the *Paisa Akhbar* was a commercial success. Because of its wide circulation, it commanded a substantial advertising income. In 1893 and 1894, the *Akhbar-i-Aam* was read daily by 2,358 readers, while the weekly edition of *Paisa Akhbar* rached 5,100 subscribers. The gap between the papers then began to widen. In 1901, the circulation of the *Akhbar-i-Aam* was 2,500 and that of the *Paisa Akhbar* 13,000; in 1905, the circulation of the former had dropped to 1,500 whereas of the latter stayed at 13,000, while it had added a daily edition to absorb the decline of the *Akhbar-i-Aam*. The daily edition reached 1,200 readers.⁵⁰

But a larger circulation and cheap rates were only part of the mass orientation of the political reform press. The political newspapers of the nationalist struggle period not only communicated to the Punjabi public, but also on their behalf. The landmark of this change of attitude is to be found in the establishment of *The Tribune* (1881 to the present). This influential, Englishlanguage paper exemplifies the impact of many trends on the Punjabi press.

The Tribune was moulded by the very fact that it started publication in a colonial setting. It attacked in its editorials the political and economic servitude of India to England. Its foundation is directly attributable to the Bengalis who were in Lahore because the Punjab was a province of an Indian empire. *The Tribune* was the

heir of the early turmoil and the questioning of both the educational and religious reform press. This paper voiced the concerns of both the Hindus and the Muslims of the early Indian Association of Lahore (an antecedent of the Punjabi Congress Party) over the educational policies of the British. *The Tribune* grew, also, out of the Lahore branch of the Brahmo Samaj. As has been mentioned earlier, *The Tribune* began because that distinguished leader and missionary of Calcutta Brahmo Samaj, Sir Surendra Nath Bannerji, while in Lahore on his all India tour, persuaded the local Sikh philanthropist, Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, to establish *The Tribune*. Bannerji supplied the machinery and some of the staff for the newspaper.

The Tribune was more than a bystander in affairs. It was a participant in the birth of the divisive religious and political reform press. The Hindus and the Muslims were united on the Indian Association Lahore until *The Tribune* published articles reflecting the point of view of the Hindu members of the Association. The Muslim members objected and when no compromise could be reached, they left the association. Thus *The Tribune* marked in the days of the educational press the impact of religious divisions on Punjabi politics.

Reflecting on this and on the discussions of the educational and religious reform press about the relationship between Punjabi society and the institutions organized within a colonial situation, Dayal Singh Majithia established a trust to administer and finance *The Tribune*. Dayal Singh laid down only broad lines of policy requiring the paper to pursue a liberal, progressive, and independent policy keeping in mind the larger views of the State and the country.⁴¹ Thus *The Tribune*, Dayal Singh College, and the Dayal Singh Public Library, all administered by the trustees, survived their founder's death. Sardar Dayal Singh, a Sikh nobleman, expressed in social terms (boards of trustees administering to Punjabi needs) his concept of what the Punjab ought to be. In this plan, print played an important role in the form of a newspaper, text books, and library material.

Another feature of *The Tribune* which reveals the new attitude of the political reform press was that while *The Tribune* was preoccupied with a national perspective, it reported on local affairs. Although *The Tribune* was more widely quoted abroad than any other Indian newspaper—cited even in the halls of Parliament—it was the first Englishlanguage newspaper in Western Punjab which recorded

local events of minor national importance. It employed correspondents in almost all the surrounding rural centers. This practice increased its popularity in suburban areas.⁵² This is but one of the factors which contributed to the growth in circulation of *The Tribune*. In 1897 as a biweekly, it had a circulation of 1,650; in 1915, as a daily, it had a circulation of 2,357; in 1945, it had a solid strength of 26,000 readers.

Although *The Tribune* represented the largest circulation of an Englishlanguage newspaper in Punjab, yet it could not match the circulation of the Urdu daily *Pratap*, which in its brief career in the 1919 and 1920 reached 30,000 readers. This growth of the Urdu Press has continued until today in Western Punjab. Some observers of the region have predicted that the Englishlanguage newspapers of the area may disappear leaving only Urdu papers. One of the reasons for the prosperity of Urdu journalism in the region was the manner in which it could combine modern techniques and styles with a popularism, an ability to touch the emotions of its thousands of Punjabi readers. To illustrate this, consider the history of Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan's (1873-1956) newspaper, the militant *Zamindar* started in 1903.

The *Zamindar* stands in the evolutionary line of popular Urdu journalism. From the *Koh-i-Nur* to the *Zamindar*, Urdu journalists were increasing their mastery over the Western innovation of the printing press. The journalists, especially during the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, were adapting the press to Punjabi needs. The *Zamindar* was a breakthrough in these attempts. It started a new school of journalism and "was the first tall pole in the pavillion of the twentieth century Urdu journalism and the first as well to lay foundation stone of the modern journalism in Urdu in Pakistan. . ."⁵³

The *Zamindar* was started by Zafar Ali Khan's father, Maulvi Siraj Din, a retired inspector of the Jammu and Kashmir Post Department. Maulvi Siraj Din's primary concern was to champion the interests of the agricultural classes. Fittingly, the paper began in 1903 in the remote village of Karamabad in Western Punjab. Zafar Ali Khan resigned from the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad and became the editor of the paper in 1909, a year before the death of his father. Zafar Ali Khan moved the paper to Lahore and started publishing it as a daily in 1911. Now the *Zamindar* championed the Muslim interests, criticizing the prominent Hindu newspapers.⁵⁴

In Lahore, Zafar Ali Khan and his staff combined modern styles of displaying the news with a militant editorial policy.

Following the outbreak of World War I, the Indian Muslims found themselves belonging to a Christian empire which was destroying the Ottoman Empire, the stronghold of the Caliph who was proclaimed by many Muslims to be the religious leader of Islam. Zafar Ali Khan reflected this concern of Indian Muslims over the role, the British Empire was playing in the Middle East. The *Zamindar* broke the custom of Muslim newspapers to confine themselves to discussing domestic and religious subjects. The *Zamindar*, voicing the sentiments of the Khilafat and Pan Islamic movements in India, discussed the implications of international events in its editorial columns.⁵⁵

Zafar Ali Khan, however, did more than just discuss an issue. "His besetting faults (for some, his greatest assets) were violence and vehemence, and he wrote like a cavalry in full charge. Ever ready to break a lance with an adversary great or small, in jest or in earnest, he was never so happy as in the thick of a fight. Consistency was never one of his virtues, and he denounced with unparalleled violence one day what he had cherished or supported the day before. From this viewpoint, his frequent changes of front reflect the uncertain ideology of Indian Muslims."⁵⁶

Many of those involved in the political reform press more than reflected the "uncertain ideology" of the Punjabis, they mirrored their readers "like a cavalry in full charge". They led large numbers of readers into explorations of possible solutions to their problems of being provincials of a modern global empire. Thus what had been in the days of the early missionaries an attempt to use the press to preach, bloomed in the twentieth century into a public relations resource for political parties.

By the end of World War I, the Punjabi press had matured as a medium worthy of calculated investment by political parties to take advantage of the limited but ever expanding voting franchise and power of elected officials. Besides branches of all Indian parties (the Congress Party and the Muslim League) there cropped up many a regional parties. One of these was the Unionist Party, established by the Muslim lawyer Mian Fazl-i-Husam. The Unionist Party was a very dominant political party in Punjab until independence. It was mainly an agrarian coalition of the Hindu Jat farmers of the Eastern Punjab and the Muslim land-owners of Western Punjab. Mian Fazl-i-Husam and Muhammad Ali Jinnah the Father of Pakistan and in the 1930s and 1940s the leader of the Muslim League, competed for political control of Punjab. This key province was especially important to Jinnah and the Muslim League.

since it was one of the few provinces in India the League could ever control because of its large Muslim electorate.

Azim Husain, in a biography of his father Fazl-i-Husain, gives an account of some of the strategies used when the newly reorganized Unionist Party was started in Lahore on 1st April, 1936. Newly raised money

was to be spent on running the Secretariat, publishing posters, and also on giving subsidies to newspapers. . . A sum of Rs. 20,000 promised by the Aga Khan was to be utilized for propaganda on an All-India scale.⁵⁷

The Aga Khan was a wealthy political leader and the religious head of a Muslim Shia sect. He acted as a patron of Muslim leaders who competed with Jinnah. In a letter to the Aga Khan dated 22, June 1936, Fazl-i-Husain revealed his plans on how . . . funds would be used against Muslim League candidates in a forthcoming election. Fazl-i-Husain wrote :

"The way it is proposed to utilize funds is to give monthly subsidies to vernacular papers, which definitely are or would become Party papers. In the subsidy being monthly full value is thus necessarily assured. The second way in which money is to be utilized is to have a few very good well-informed journalists—English and vernacular—writing for the Press and the organization will see that their contributions are accepted. Thirdly, publication of pamphlets and leaflets, and lastly, communications in the nature of summaries of local news to be sent to England."⁵⁸

The Unionist Party leaders appreciated the worth of the Punjabi Press as a mass communication system. Azim Husain recorded the care his father's party gave to the Press.

"Party propaganda was conducted on modern lines. Elaborate arrangements were made to secure the support of the Press through a confidential committee of the Party. Dealings with the Vernacular Press were not to be conducted individually, but on behalf of the Party, and payments were to be made through one channel even if funds came from different sources. Selected newspapers periodically received 'guidance notes' on current political problems, and were expected to write articles, editorials and leaders based on these notes. *The Eastern Times* (Lahore) was the only Muslim daily newspaper in the Punjab which fervently supported the Party. Its circulation was increased by an

annual subsidy from the Party. These arrangements were all interim arrangements because it was realized that effective propaganda could not be done except through a newspaper owned by the Party. Fazl-i-Husain, therefore, intended to take over *The Eastern Times* and to create a trust to be managed by a syndicate, but the proposal did not materialize on account of his death.⁵⁹

The religious conflicts of Punjab from the 1880s to independence in 1947 have been recorded and analyzed in many works. How these conflicts became embedded in the politics of national independence until the Indian subcontinent was divided into India and Pakistan has also been the topic of many books. What is of particular concern to us is the pattern of voluntary associations which rose to defend the interests of a religious heritage or of a social group, employing the printing press, sometimes extensively, as a tool in their struggle.

Many associations had at least one journal broadcasting their points of view. Some had several organs, a newspaper and a few journals, often with large circulations. The articles of these periodicals contained discussions of ideology, replies to issues raised by other groups, and increasing expressions of concern over political issues, educational opportunities, government employment quotas, the establishment of schools, and responsibility for the most recent communal riot.

The Punjabis learned many skills during the days of religious and political reform. Those who joined associations, pooling their money and energies to promote a cause, soon learned to run massive publicity campaigns, to edit and publish newspapers, journals, and books, and to deal with the Government. This last skill had been cultivated intensely before. The Government had at times been restrictive with publishers. Lord Ripon in the 1880s dropped some of these hindrances. The restrictions, of course, returned.⁶⁰ Nationalist agitation and World Wars I and II led to some of these controls. One form of control was the practice of forcing publishers to put up large amounts of money as security. If the publisher printed material which the Government deemed offensive, the publisher forfeited his security and had to raise more money.

The *Pratap* of Lahore, a newspaper organized by members of the Arya Samaj, is an example of a paper that experienced difficulties with censorship. It had the distinction of reaching one of the highest circulation levels of any Western Punjabi news-

paper prior to independence. The daily edition was issued for 30,000 readers. The *Pratap* began publication on 30th March, 1919 when Mahatma Gandhi had launched his agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. A mere ten days after it was first published, the Government suppressed it for supporting Mahatma Gandhi and his passive resistance movement. The editor of the *Pratap*, Mahashaya Krishna, was arrested on 18th April, 1919. The paper reappeared in February, 1920. But in a couple of months its security was forfeited again. Between 1919 and 1936, the *Pratap* was suppressed a number of times. The Government forfeited its security in 1919, 1920, 1930, and 1932. The *Pratap* had difficulties even under the provincial Unionist Party Government just prior to independence. Finally in 1947, this paper with its sister Hindu papers, such as the *Milap*, moved to Delhi.⁶¹

Another illustration of relationship between the publishers and the Government is taken from the testimony of Malik Barkat Ali (a former editor of *The Observer* of Lahore). Barkat Ali's statements were given before the Indian Press Commission whose task was to investigate the impact of the strict press laws on Indian press following World War I. A verbatim record of the proceedings highlighting the questions of the President of the Indian Press Commission and the replies of Malik Barkat Ali is as follows :

“Question : Were you called upon to furnish security under the Press Act ?

Answer : The first trouble of that paper (*The Observer*) was not directly under the Press Act, but it was under the Defence of India Act Rules. Under Rule 3 of the Defence of India Act Rules, I was called upon to submit for pre-censorship to the Press Advisor to the local Government all my writings. I could not submit to such restriction of this kind, and so I ceased to be the editor of *The Observer*. This was in fact our second difficulty. The first difficulty was under the Press Act. There was a change of Manager and the proprietor himself put in a declaration as the keeper of the press. The District Magistrate refused to accept that declaration although under the law he had no discretion at all. The provision is mandatory that he shall authenticate the declaration. But he refused to authenticate that declaration.

Question : Was that declaration made under the Act of 1867 ?

Answer : The declaration had to be made, of course, under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, but the Press Act was also applied.

Question from Sir William Vincent You went up to the Punjab Chief Court and they said that it is being a ministerial act, they couldn't interfere ?

Answer We went to the Chief Court The Chief Court, of course, found that the provision was mandatory Section 6 says that 'every declaration shall be authenticated by the signature and official seal of the Magistrate' But they said "We are helpless, it is a ministerial act and we cannot interfere' We had no remedy, and ultimately somebody else had to put in a declaration, and a security of Rs 1,000 was asked for I think it was Rs 1,000

Question from President *The Observer* then ceased to exist ?

Answer The security was furnished A second attempt was made under the Defence of India Act Rules and the effect of that attempt was that I ceased to be editor of *The Observer* and new editor had to be found The new editor had not been long there when the Press Act was applied in consequence of an article in which the local Government's selection of a High Court Judge was criticized, and the security was forfeited, as a result of that forfeiture *The Observer* ceased to exist

Question You said the security was forfeited ?

Answer There was a High Court vacancy and the popular opinion was that the importing of a gentleman to fill it was not the right thing, a protest was accordingly made which was the occasion for the forfeiture of the security

Question Was it merely because you protested against the security or because of some other remarks in the article ?

Answer The protest was interpreted as an attempt to bring the Government into hatred and contempt but there was nothing in it beyond a protest It was a very ordinary article

Question Then the security was forfeited ?

Answer Yes

Question Did you go to the Chief Court ?

Answer No

Question Why not ?

Answer : It was felt that the powers reserved to the High Court were mostly illusory and for that reason we did not go up to the High Court."⁶²

While the reformers passively dodged official restrictions against themselves, they were strained to protect their colleagues. The editors of newspapers owned by or sympathetic to a particular religious community or political party learned to coordinate their publicity of Government attacks on fellow editors. This had been practised in a mild manner since the 1840s. Now, however, the Press took a new step. It not only pressurized and complained, it openly questioned the right of the British to enforce or even to legislate such restrictive laws.

At the same time, some editors and associations petitioned the Government to ban the publication of this book or that journal because it was offensive to their honor. The Arya Samaj and the Ahmadiyya publications were restricted by the Government because of their aggressive tone.⁶³ Thus the Indians, while attacking the right of the British to censor in the long run, selected specific targets for the British to censor.

The censorship restrictions were a sign of the realization by both the British and the Indians of the massive potential power of the Press. The South Asians observed that not only there was the traditional influence that the Press had upon the British, but the Press also influenced large numbers of the Punjabis. Barkat Ali also told a Government committee :

"The passion for journalism had descended to the market; shop-keepers, and the masses now read the newspapers. It is not merely the educated classes who read them. The man in the street has begun to read the newspapers."⁶⁴

Religious and political reformers realized the value of print to communicate with large number of diverse peoples. The printing press was a tool they needed because in one way or another the reformers sought not only to organize and reform themselves and others near and similar to themselves, but eventually to mould every one in Punjab and in India. These people not only used the press, but they also did everything they could to strengthen the influence of the press. Literacy drives were organised, schools set up ; and reading rooms and libraries encouraged.

Religious groups, ostentatiously promoted literacy so that their fellow adherents could read a common scripture. But when a man

becomes literate so that he can read a sacred text or prayers, he can also read newspapers and posters written in the same script. Literacy is a multi-purpose skill. The Arya Samajis and others were facilitating political and economic awareness as well as religious consciousness. Print was useful to many people in many different ways.

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COMMERCIAL PRESS

THERE lurks an illusion in the commercial press that the giants of previous periods have been replaced by humans and machines. When the process of commercialization of agriculture and the processes of urbanization and industrialization had reached a certain point of development in Punjab, then the literacy *i.e.* the capacity to consume and the press *i.e.* the capacity to produce appeared to be on growth curves that would rise inevitably. Apparently, no longer the hermits and the holy men were to tread country lanes to teach reading skills, nor martyrs were to brave hostile, foreign bureaucrats to write and publish. Now businessmen and technicians supported by institutions could teach literacy, publish, and distribute printed works for profit. Efficient duplicators could follow innovative trail-blazers. Because the miracle of print had become common and commercialized, all this appeared true. But it was not destined to be so.

The "inevitability" of the continued adoption of the press as a mass medium in Punjab is difficult to measure. There are obvious indicators of both the failure and the success of this adaptation. A measure of the apparent failure is the limited literacy in Western Punjab today. Literacy is not universal in this region as is evident from Table 5.1 and Table 5.2. The list of possible causes of unbroken spell of illiteracy, even after independence, is long. A form of neo-colonialism in the garb of a desire not to change and the poverty in the garb of an inability to change may be two such causes. Perhaps even an intrinsic failure of the press to be a Punjabi communication tool is a contributor. If the print did not fulfill the needs of the Punjabis, then they would not be tempted to invest in literacy programs.¹

Table 51
LITERACY IN PAKISTAN, 1961

| S No | Locality | Number of Literates | Percent of Population 5 years and over |
|------|--------------------------|---------------------|--|
| 1 | RAWALPINDI DIVISION | | |
| | Campbellpur District | 99,258 | 15.2 |
| | Rawalpindi District | 312,848 | 32.4 |
| | Jhelum District | 157,567 | 24.8 |
| | Gujarat District | 202,760 | 18.1 |
| | Total | 772,433 | 22.9 |
| 2 | SARGODHA DIVISION | | |
| | Sargodha District | 197,103 | 16.0 |
| | Mianwali District | 91,251 | 14.8 |
| | Lyallpur District | 407,288 | 18.1 |
| | Jhang District | 127,926 | 14.1 |
| | Total | 823,568 | 16.4 |
| 3 | LAHORE DIVISION | | |
| | Lahore District | 520,845 | 25.0 |
| | Gujranwala District | 187,428 | 17.2 |
| | Sheikhupura District | 119,016 | 12.2 |
| | Salakot District | 233,039 | 17.1 |
| | Total | 1,060,328 | 19.5 |
| 4 | MULTAN DIVISION | | |
| | Dera Ghazi Khan District | 51,333 | 8.1 |
| | Muzaffargarh District | 80,342 | 9.9 |
| | Multan District | 255,276 | 11.4 |
| | Montgomery District | 197,838 | 11.1 |
| | Total | 584,789 | 10.7 |
| 5 | BAHAWALPUR DIVISION | | |
| | Bahawalpur District | 69,573 | 11.5 |
| | Bahawalnagar District | 73,343 | 10.8 |
| | Rahimyar Khan District | 86,027 | 10.4 |
| | Total | 228,943 | 10.8 |

Source *Literacy in Districts, Pakistan, 1961* In *Population Census of Pakistan 1961 Literacy and Education Census Bulletin No 4* (Karachi Government of Pakistan, 1962), pp x-xi

Table 5.2
ILLITERACY IN PAKISTAN

| S. No. | Locality | Percentage of illiteracy of all ages | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|-------|
| | | Male | Female | Urban | Rural |
| 1. | Rawalpindi Division | 65 | 75 | 50 | 75 |
| 2. | Sargodha Division | 75 | 76 | 63 | 79 |
| 3. | Lahore Division | 72 | 71 | 59 | 78 |
| 4. | Multan Division | 79 | 80 | 66 | 82 |
| 5. | Bahawalpur Division | 79 | 81 | 64 | 82 |

Source : *Illiteracy in Divisions, Pakistan, 1961. Ibid. pp. x-xi.*

To be able to judge the extent of the adoption of print, it is necessary to remember the environment of this adoption. By recalling the social and technological setting of the commercial press, we can compensate for some of the weaknesses of absolute standards of adoption such as headcounts of literate citizens. All innovations, even technological innovations, have cultural dimensions. This innovation, the printing press, was not an isolate, independent, and self-contained tool when it was introduced in Western Punjab. The press was part of a mature British system of communication related in turn to religious, educational, governmental, and literary institutions. This meant that more than an element (a press or even a communication system) was to be absorbed. The relationship between print and the rest of Western culture had to be adopted and adapted in some manner. When studies are made of innovations, the social dimensions of the introduction of the innovation must also be taken into account. The experience of Western Punjab *vis-a-vis* the printing press has repeatedly been categorized as a colonial one. The impact of the social relations of dominance (superiority) and submission (inferiority) has been profound on the processes of adoption and adaptation.

The awareness that innovations have social and cultural dimensions is profound for those who try to measure the success or failure of the process of adoption. The implication, the insight generated by studying these dimensions, is that in a manner the question of the failure or success of adoption and its study in quantitative terms is itself invalid. There can be no success or failure for a process.

Processes have no goals These are states Processes merely exist and in a way without end as long as the organism in which they operate survives

Processes such as adoption of an innovation and its adaptation are not events, isolated and ahistorical Adoption occurs within a temporal and very social and cultural framework Processes such as the adoption of the press do not cease They echo within the memory, the structure, of the society in which they operate The echo is not even of one event Innovations are rarely one time occurrences Multiple sources and repetition of innovations are common features

Adoption and adaptation are historical processes Absolute measures of these processes are doomed to failure Measurement is basically a comparison of X with Y, or of a past state of X with a present state Adoption is a continuing function of not an isolated value, an X, but of a continuum of values, of variables Adoption is a function of a function It is a relationship of another relationship or pattern The measuring of the adoption of an innovation is not similar to the dropping of a pebble in a tank of water and measuring the ripples until they stop Rather, there are many pebbles and each pebble enters the water, the shape and other physical properties of the tank of water change

The continuous nature of adoption is particularly important when considering technological innovations because in studies of innovations and change in economically developing countries the technological innovations have at times been treated as isolates The innovation might be a technique of boiling water, a breed of egg laying poultry, or a type of seed or plow The measure of success or failure would be the number of families who adopted the technique The historical dimension would be a follow up study, a sequel, which recorded an increase in numbers of adopters, or the extinction of the practice The social setting was often a rural village, may be isolated in the highlands This limited period of time of analysis is often useful, but the underlying assumptions are dangerous

Consider when a farmer accepts a new seed from the representative of an international agency The farmer is not accepting the seed as an isolated element Rather, the seed for him is part of a social and cultural context The farmer acknowledges the relevance of productive powers beyond his own community, whether or not that seed actually raises his productivity² This acknowledgement, although

not only the original machinery, but even its repairs. Increased and ever steadier flows of energy as well as paper, ink, and other materials with more specialized characteristics are demanded.³ Each new form of the printing press is a variation of the others. They are not isolated innovations. Their introduction is a continuum, not a string of events. Parallel to the introduction of the various printing presses were the introduction of other technical communication innovations such as the telegraph, railroad, and telephone.⁴

Social innovations reverberate from technical innovations. In 1835, twenty three years after the invention of the Morse telegraph, Julius Reuter established an organization to exploit systematically, the rapid information-carrying capacity of the telegraph. His energy and the degree to which his service satisfied needs in Europe not only guaranteed the survival of Reuter's organization but also its prosperity. Within two years, it had spread to India. Basic financial reorganization, the obtaining of governmental approval, and many other social changes are needed to exploit new tools. These social modifications take time.

The social innovations form the second category of indicators of the length of time involved in adopting the press. I have labelled this category professional as well as social, because most of the new forms and reforms of the commercial press particularly were part of the increased professionalization that developed. This trend is noticeable first among journalists. There were several sources that fed this professionalization. The British Press, of course, had a great impact. British journalists such as Hicky and Buckleham had set examples of conduct and standards of efficiency and exploitation of innovations since the days of the East India Company. In Punjab, men like Oswald Wally, a manager, and McArthy, a printer, both of whom worked for the *Koh-i-Nur* in 1857, established printing plants and acted as illustrations of managerial and technical skills. Specialized journals, especially, owe their founding to British entrepreneurs. Shirley Tremearne, a businessman and lawyer, founded the *Capital*, a weekly journal of commerce and finance. Patrick Doyle, a civil engineer, started *Indian Engineering*, a scientific publication.

British dominated organizations also demonstrated possible uses of the press. The *Pioneer* of Agra predated Indian news agencies when it monopolized news releases from the British-Indian Government in Simla, the summer capital of the Empire. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, *The Times of India*, *The Statesman*, and the *Pioneer* demonstrated widely and well what a modern English

newspaper was. These papers adopted large, rotary presses when they were available. They invested in factory-like plants. They used page layouts and formats similar to European papers. They raised advertising rates until this revenue supplied a profit. They performed job work to supplement their income. These and other British papers did all this and more. Thus they acted as an example to Indians of what was possible.

The British, however, demonstrated more than managerial expertise. The Irish journalists, especially, acted for Indians as Buckingham did for the Bengalis of being journalists in opposition to the Government. Horniman, the editor of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta's *The Bombay Chronicle*, was deported in 1919 from India. His offence was working for an Indian-owned newspaper which propagated an "extreme nationalism."⁵

Pat Lovett, an Irish journalist of *The Times of India*, the *Capital* and other papers, wrote that journalism in India grew from English journalism. The duty of a political journalist was to publish his opinion at the risk of fine and imprisonment. He should shape the lead article into a potent factor in moulding public opinion. Hicky, Bolts, Buckingham, Horniman, and Lovett demonstrated that opposition to bureaucracy was possible. They illustrated that journalism could be what Sir Surendra Nath Bannerji called, "a great instrument of propaganda."⁶

Indians learned well enough. Indian news agencies such as K.C. Roy's Associated Press of India broke the monopoly on Government releases. Surendra Nath Bannerji working with the newly founded Indian National Congress and also with the Brahmo Samaj established what Lovett considered real Indian journalism. Bannerji, for instance, sparked the founding of *The Tribune of Lahore*. Yet more than individuals changed Indian journalism. Forces from inside and outside India moulded the commercial press. Lovett wrote :

"The staple of news has proved a more potent factor in bringing Indian journalism up-to-date according to Western notions than any editor in the last forty years."⁷

With the draining of resources caused by the global destruction of the two World Wars, the role of Indian journalism increased. World War I resulted in the reduction of British owned and the British edited dailies in the Indian sub-continent and in the increase of wholly Indian run dailies.

Still the winds of modernity, even the hurricanes of two world wars, could not have forced such social modifications among the members of Indian commercial press if Indians did not have institutions which could train individual Indians in their complex duties. As Lovett saw, for example, only universities could provide the India of his day and of the generations to come with Indian journalists, due to the demands of mastering idiomatic English.

Even outside English language enterprises, the institutions for training were needed. Families and apprenticeship provided much of this education. The sons of the adopters of the printing press were often successful adopters. The list of second generation adopters includes the reformer—poet, Muhammad Husain Azad. His father, Moulvi Muhammad Baqir Ali, established the first regular, successful Urdu newspaper in Delhi. Baqir's paper was mainly literary with commentaries on local court news. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the Muslim reformer who established the tone of modern Urdu journalism, was the brother and heir of an early Delhi newspaper editor. Muhammad Azim of *Lahore Chronicle* and later Zafar Ali Khan of the *Zamindar* were sons of the editors. The founders of a publishing family and those who wished to master the newest techniques depended on apprenticing institutions. Being college students, the college magazine was a source of training for some. Large, commercial publishers such as the *Koh-i-Nur*, the *Akhbar-i-Aam*, and the *Zamindar*, in turn acted as schools and training areas for later journalists. Thus, the college journals and apprenticeships in large commercial enterprises provided opportunities for making social contacts. Partly to satisfy this need of socializing, journalists started conferences and associations. This was paralleled by increasingly formalized and specialized training. Even senior editors like Maulvi Mahboob Alam sought advanced journalistic training.⁸ For this purpose, he went to Europe in 1900. In the twentieth century, the University of Punjab established both a library school and a department of journalism. The library school of the University of Punjab was established only in the second decade of the twentieth century with the assistance of the American librarian and writer Asa Don Dickinson (1876-1960).

The background for this social change was the continual modifications that occurred in India. Urbanization, industrialization, and commercialization of agriculture are labels for some of these developments. The increased population, the mechanization of the canal and other transportation systems, the founding of Western modelled schools and churches, the rise of Indian nationalism are only a few of the developments which affected the use of print.

Pandit Daya Narain Nigam, the editor of the *Zamana* of Kanpur in United Provinces, tried to explain the impact of the general environment on journalism to the Indian Press Committee of 1921. This committee was charged with examining the effect of the Press and Registration of Book Act, 1867 ; the Indian Press Act, 1910 ; the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act, 1908. Chaired by the noted Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, the committee's findings led to the repeal of the India Press Act, 1910. The following is a section of the transcript where Pandit Nigam tried to explain the implications of trying to be an altruistic revolutionary and yet needing to obtain financial benefits from reflecting popular feeling.

“Question : So that the expression of popular feeling has a commercial value also ?

Answer : It has a commercial value.

Question : The paper which expresses the popular feeling on any particular question irrespective of the question whether that feeling is one with which it ought to sympathize or not, or irrespective of the fact as to whether that feeling requires to be corrected or not has a greater chance of scale than a paper which does both, namely express the feeling and correct it at other times. Don't you think it has a commercial value ?

Answer : Yes, it has.

Question : So that you will agree with me that the motive of some of these papers—I won't say of all—is not a very unmixed motive ?

Answer : I won't go as far as that. I believe the press in general is actuated by good motive. I know many of the Vernacular journalists and believe that the majority of them are good and honest people.

Question : I do not doubt that they are.

Answer : They are not after money; at any rate the majority of them are not. Take it from me that at present the Vernacular press is not much paying. There might be money in this profession say, some 20 years hence.

Question : You mean to say that the Vernacular newspapers do not sell well ?

Answer : Even though they sell well, the cost of production has

been very high for the last five years. Take for instance the *Pratap* of Cawnpore. Its circulation is perhaps the largest in the United Provinces. The circulation of its weekly edition is over 8,000 and of the daily 4,000. But it is still not making much profit. I believe it is hardly paying its way, and the daily is not yet out of its troubles. So, it is not for mere money that they are running the paper. They are rightly or wrongly, convinced that the Government requires change, a change rather of a revolutionary kind.

Question When you speak of a change of a revolutionary kind, do you use that expression 'revolutionary' in a metaphorical sense or in a literal sense?

Answer : In a metaphorical sense.

Question What is it exactly that they mean by that?

Answer They want that the real power should be transferred into the hands of their own countrymen. They are not satisfied with a few high appointments for Indians. They want real power.

Question And that is what they mean by 'revolutionary'?

Answer My expression was rather strong. They want complete change, so to say.

Question A radical change?

Answer Yes, that is what I wanted to convey.

Question In the constitution of the Government?

Answer Yes. A few years back the appointment of Lord Sinha might have been hailed as something very extraordinary, something to be grateful for. But now all these things are falling flat."⁹

The appointment of a few Indians to positions held by Europeans once "might have been hailed as something very extraordinary, something to be grateful for. But now all these are falling flat." India had changed and India was changing. Therefore, the Press and its relationship with Indian society also changed towards evolution. The cornerstone of this study of the introduction of the printing press into Western Punjab is the awareness that the intrusion of print was continuous from the 1830s to the 1940s. Throughout these eleven decades, the Punjabis selectively adopted from all that were offered to them.

Much detailed analysis of the Punjabi publishing industry will

be necessary before it is properly understood. From yearly and ten-year government statistics, only broad outlines are visible. Even these figures, however, indicate that while the development of the Punjabi publishing was related to a global market and to events in Europe, still the publishing industry had a life of its own.

In the accompanying graphs and tables¹⁰ on pp. 109-116 illustrating book production can be seen the impact of the world. The prosperity of the 1920s and the depression of the 1930s, both influenced book production. The decrease in publications in 1917-1918 may be related to a sharp increase in the price of paper. World War I cut the number of books submitted for awards to the Text-Book Committee by half between 1916 and 1918.¹¹

The steady increase of English books is also understandable as Punjab became economically and technologically cemented to the English-speaking world. The stabilization of the Western educational system in Punjab also helped English language book production. In the second quarter of 1935, out of sixty-nine English titles, thirty-four were text-books (including all of the sixteen language books, the seven law texts, and all five mathematics and science titles).¹²

The small number of Punjabi produced English language leisure works (poetry and fiction) indicates that the increase of English language titles was due to pragmatic reasons rather than to a general acculturation of the Punjabis. The literacy figures (Table 5.1) also point out to this. Although literacy in English doubled among males between 1891 to 1901 (to 84,000 or from 30 per 10,000 to 63) yet the number of non-Christian, English literate females was negligible, only 700 in 1901.¹³ The adoption of English was limited to certain social groups and for certain purposes.

The selective use of English can be seen in the volume of bilingual and trilingual books and in the number of text-books and translations. A random sample of Urdu books published in 1931 and 1939 shows that while the total number of books doubled in this decade, the percentage of translations dropped from twelve to three percent. The percentage of textbooks, however, rose from twenty-five to forty-one. For Punjabi language materials during the same years, while the number of books fell, the percentage of translations dropped from three to two and text-books went up from two to eleven. Although further testing is needed, this indicates a drop in both titles and translations for general audiences when the language is a vernacular language. This also shows that the Punjabis were not

Table 53
BOOK PRODUCTION IN PUNJAB 1881-1890

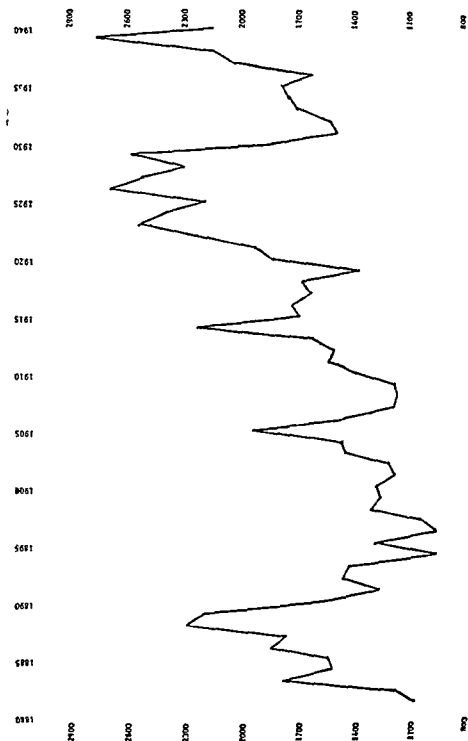
| Languages | Years | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1881 | 1882 | 1883 | 1884 | 1885 | 1886 | 1887 | 1888 | 1889 | 1890 |
| English | 72 | 99 | 178 | 70 | 39 | 35 | 38 | 61 | 86 | 46 |
| Arabic | 43 | 60 | 90 | 67 | 57 | 118 | 92 | 117 | 133 | 75 |
| Brahui | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bilochi | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hindi | 94 | 153 | 163 | 158 | 230 | 206 | 142 | 169 | 197 | 103 |
| Kashmiri | 3 | 5 | 10 | 8 | 1 | — | — | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Lande | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Marwari | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Multani | 2 | 4 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Punjabi | 206 | 190 | 314 | 258 | 218 | 398 | 473 | 645 | 499 | 269 |
| Pushio | 17 | 20 | 18 | 11 | 11 | 17 | 10 | 15 | 8 | 5 |
| Persian | 64 | 60 | 82 | 97 | 83 | 82 | 90 | 89 | 84 | 56 |
| Prakrit | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sanskrit | 19 | 25 | 40 | 16 | 18 | 37 | 19 | 48 | 30 | 12 |
| Sindhi | 5 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 10 | 30 | 66 | 27 |
| Tankhe | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tibetan | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Urdu | 487 | 483 | 779 | 765 | 806 | 824 | 804 | 961 | 923 | 824 |
| Others | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bilingual | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Trilingual | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Polyglot | 78 | 96 | 108 | 83 | 98 | 134 | 112 | 164 | 179 | 158 |
| TOTAL | 1,090 | 1,198 | 1,786 | 1,535 | 1,566 | 1,857 | 1,790 | 2,301 | 2,206 | 1,577 |

Table 5.5
BOOK PRODUCTION IN PUNJAB 1901-1910

| Languages | Years | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1901 | 1902 | 1903 | 1904 | 1905 | 1906 | 1907 | 1908 | 1909 | 1910 |
| English | 69 | 73 | 120 | 105 | 158 | 127 | 90 | 84 | 86 | 80 |
| Arabic | 19 | 27 | 32 | 35 | 37 | 27 | 13 | 19 | 35 | 17 |
| Brahui | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Bilochi | 6 | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | — | — |
| Hindi | 94 | 66 | 108 | 90 | 107 | 125 | 66 | 72 | 75 | 82 |
| Kashmiri | 1 | 1 | — | — | 8 | 21 | 11 | 2 | 14 | 4 |
| Lande | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Marwari | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Multani | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Punjabi | 315 | 350 | 397 | 455 | 514 | 523 | 328 | 342 | 299 | 458 |
| Pushto | 9 | 14 | 17 | 6 | 11 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 2 |
| Persian | 29 | 23 | 28 | 48 | 47 | 35 | 25 | 8 | 22 | 12 |
| Prakrit | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sanskrit | 9 | 14 | 19 | 6 | 7 | 15 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 10 |
| Sindhi | 18 | 28 | 26 | 26 | 44 | 41 | 28 | 5 | 20 | 31 |
| Tankhe | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tibetan | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Urdu | 491 | 521 | 601 | 614 | 881 | 708 | 491 | 497 | 533 | 597 |
| Other | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| Bilingual | 119 | 103 | 113 | 89 | 126 | 121 | 129 | 125 | 84 | 107 |
| Trilingual | 17 | 13 | 13 | 11 | 18 | 18 | 16 | 18 | 4 | 4 |
| Polyglot | 1 | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 1,204 | 1,235 | 1,478 | 1,486 | 1,959 | 1,772 | 1,204 | 1,185 | 1,191 | 1,408 |

Table 5.7
BOOK PRODUCTION IN PUNJAB 1921-1930

| Languages | Years | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 | 1924 | 1925 | 1926 | 1927 | 1928 | 1929 | 1930 |
| English | 158 | 200 | 271 | 247 | 212 | 228 | 206 | 265 | 287 | 197 |
| Arabic | 58 | 40 | 48 | 43 | 28 | 23 | 21 | 27 | 27 | 1 |
| Brahui | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bilochi | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hindi | 83 | 101 | 156 | 131 | 183 | 156 | 195 | 165 | 214 | 130 |
| Kashmiri | 1 | 16 | 6 | 10 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 3 | — | — |
| Lande | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| Marwari | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Multani | 7 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 4 | 7 | 5 | — | 10 | 6 |
| Punjabi | 786 | 966 | 894 | 670 | 609 | 838 | 606 | 712 | 755 | 582 |
| Pushto | 5 | 8 | 16 | 14 | 2 | 11 | 13 | 1 | — | 5 |
| Persian | 19 | 17 | 58 | 35 | 23 | 60 | 58 | 44 | 17 | 11 |
| Prakrit | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sanskrit | 13 | 13 | 20 | 21 | 11 | 22 | 15 | 12 | 27 | 14 |
| Sindhi | 5 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Tankhe | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Tibetan | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Urdu | 671 | 679 | 929 | 977 | 945 | 1,121 | 1,202 | 871 | 1,036 | 795 |
| Other | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | — |
| Bilingual | 120 | 136 | 118 | 212 | 156 | 188 | 186 | 173 | 149 | 90 |
| Trilingual | 16 | 26 | 9 | 25 | 16 | 16 | 13 | 30 | 31 | 9 |
| Polyglot | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 3 | 7 | 12 | 14 | 9 | 8 |
| TOTAL | 947 | 2,224 | 2,548 | 2,413 | 2,408 | 2,696 | 2,537 | 2,324 | 2,587 | 1,849 |



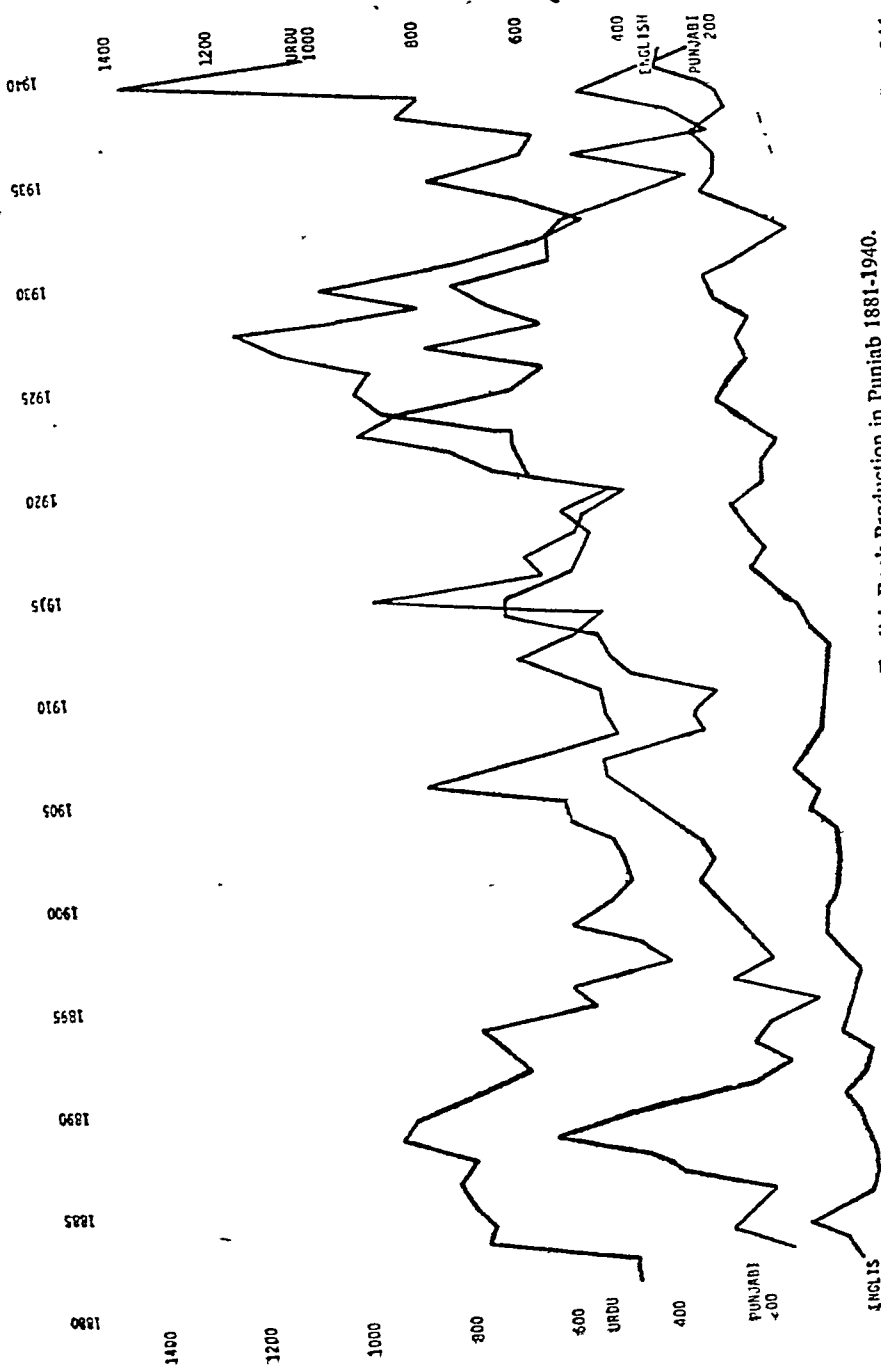


Fig. 2. Graphic Representation of Urdu, Punjabi and English Book Production in Punjab 1881-1940.

Source : 1. *Punjab Catalogue of Books Registered in the Punjab 1910-1940*. 2. India, *Census of India 1911*, Vol. 14, Part I, p. 344.

abandoning their vernacular languages. Either they sought to translate the content of English, Arabic, and Sanskrit into Urdu or Punjabi, or they wrote multi-language works. When the content of what the Punjabis wanted to communicate to other Punjabis was not borrowed, then a vernacular language was employed. Widespread, serious discussion about the adaptation of South Asian society and culture to a modern, powerful world and about the selective adoption of Western practices and concepts by the Punjabis were often carried on in vernacular languages.

Not only were the Punjabis selective in their adoption of the printing press, but their pattern of adoption was not the same as of the other Indians elsewhere in the country. Prem Narain in his book, *Press and Politics in India 1885-1905*, has a table constructed from imperial reports.¹¹ This table allows us to compare the number and circulation of newspapers and periodicals among various Indian provinces. The Bengalis and the Punjabis, for example, adopted the press differently. They chose different formats and languages to communicate general and political information. Overall, the Punjabis preferred periodicals to newspapers. The Bengalis preferred newspapers to periodicals. Also in Punjab, for vernacular discussions of general and political topics, the circulation of periodicals was twice that of newspapers while the number of titles was equal. When the discussions were carried on in English, then the newspaper was preferred. Even here, the number and circulation of English, general and political newspapers were less than half that of vernacular newspapers and the circulation was under a fifth of vernacular periodicals of the same class. Thus even in 1885 for general and political subjects, the Punjabi editors and writers of vernacular periodicals had a larger audience than did the editors of other languages newspapers, especially of the English language.

Punjab was unusual for the absence of bilingual (English and a vernacular language) newspapers and periodicals in the general and political category. This form was popular in the neighboring United Provinces as well as in Bombay. While the Punjabis favored vernacular periodicals for general and political commentaries, the Bengalis had none. Bengal had forty nine English newspapers with 43,000 circulation and twenty four English newspapers with 25,000 circulation for general and political purposes. They had only one periodical of this class—an English language periodical. In the "other" class which includes literary, scientific, religious, agricultural, mythological, medical and legal topics, while the Punjabis divided their resources between vernacular newspapers and periodicals, the Bengalis had fifty seven vernacular periodicals with 41,000 circulation and no

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- 5 Patrick Lovett, *Journalism in India* (Calcutta: Banna Publishing Co 1928) pp 47-49
- 6 *Ibid.*, p 49
- 7 *Ibid.*, p 58
- 8 Feroze p 71
- 9 India Press Laws Committee 1921, *Report*, p 261
- 10 Punjab *Punjab Catalogue of Books Registered in the Punjab 1910-1940* This is the source for Table 5.3 to 5.8
- 11 Punjab *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies for 1917-18* (Lahore 1919), p 77 and *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies for 1918-19* (Lahore 1920) p 91
- 12 Punjab, *Catalogue*, 1935, Part II
- 13 India *Census of India 1901*, Vol 17, Part I This is not to imply that the publishing industry was not increasingly serving women readers. Several Lahore newspapers and magazines catered to women. See Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza, *Muslim Women's Role in the Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969). The children also became a reading public. See Ibne Insha, *Literature for Children in Urdu* (Karachi: National Book Centre of Pakistan, 1967).
- 14 Prem Narain *Press and Politics in India 1885-1905* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1970) table between pp 8 and 9
- 15 India *Census of India 1911*, Vol 14, Part I, p 334

CONCLUSION

THIS has been an account of the adoption of a tool and a medium of communication which was embedded in a foreign culture and social system. The society adopting the tool i.e. the printing press and the medium, i.e. the print-medium was in this case a colonial society. Adaptation was part of the process of adoption. Because the adoption of the press occurred in a colonial situation, the process of adapting the press to a Punjabi society was clearly divided into two phases : attempts to adapt the Punjabi environment to the press and then attempts to adapt the press to Punjab. The people who contributed the most to the adoption of the printing press fall into four categories :

1. Innovators
2. Adopters
3. Adaptors of the environment
4. Adaptors of the press

The innovators were mainly British businessmen, British government administrators, non-Punjabi Indians who came with the British, and the American and British missionaries. The adopters were those Punjabis who learned directly from innovators. They included orphans, prisoners, and students in European or American managed institutions, intellectuals, independent businessmen and Christian converts.

Although the innovators and the adopters operated throughout the

period the British ruled over Punjab, their activities mark the decades when the missionary and the government press were prominent. This was from the 1830s when an American Presbyterian Mission was opened in Ludhiana until the 1860s. In this period, the press directly served European ends and European communities. Until the Punjabis had ascended high enough in the various church hierarchies, so that the communities of the Punjabis could be recognised as independent churches, foreign missionary administrators and purposes controlled the Christian press. In the same way until sufficient numbers of the Punjabis were placed in positions of power in the Government (and this was not to happen until near independence in 1947) the press was supported by the Government and was served by the Government, that is, the British Empire. The press was used for internal communication with selected Punjabi elites who were tied to the British. Thus the early, great newspapers, the *Lahore Chronicle* and the *Civil and Military Gazette*, served essentially, the European communities.

Although there is much overlap between periods, still the adapters of the environment were most conspicuous in the period of the educational and literary press following the uprising of 1857. Adapters of the environment were those individuals who tried to use the press by modifying Punjab. The printing press that the British introduced had been developed in Europe. The British and the Americans had not only developed the press in certain ways technologically, but they had also evolved social institutions around the Press. Churches, schools, businesses, governments, and literary circles had been modified so that the press could serve within these institutions. What the British and the Americans introduced into Western Punjab was not just the printing press but a set of cultural and social patterns, each fully developed and interrelated, which made use of the press and of the print.

The adapters mentioned above worked with and learned about the press in a specific social setting, a school, an orphanage, or a prison. They learned as to how the printing press and a western modelled setting or institution were related. The adapters tried to generalize the use of the press for the benefit of the Punjabis. The main problem was to mesh a western tool with an eastern environment. The adapters of the environment attempted to use the press by leaving the press and its European subsystems relatively unchanged. Instead they tried to pour Punjabi content and language into print.

During the period of the missionary and government press, Harsukh Rai, the editor of the *Koh-i-Nur*, and Imad-ud-din, the

Christian apologist, exhibited many of the traits of the adapters of the environment. Harsukh Rai, as typical of the role played by commercial men throughout this history, played a multi-sided role of not only being an adapter of the environment, but, when he supplied his expertise and equipment to the cause of early Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj, he contributed to the adaptation of the press to Punjab.

The outstanding adapters of the environment were active during the 1860s and 1870s. These adapters were principally the members of the cultural associations, such as the Anjuman-i-Punjab and the Anjuman-i-Mushaira. Led by Dr. Leitner and Colonel Holroyd, these two associations tried to build western-styled educational institutions where "oriental" subjects could be taught and researched. They pro-noted with subsidies the efforts of the authors to translate works into vernacular languages or to write original prose works in a western format in Punjabi language. The associations also encouraged the composition of Urdu poetry based on English literary standards. Oriental College, the Text-book Committee, and the *mushairas* of 1874, all embodied the principle of pouring vernacular content and language into western formats and structures.

Soon there followed the adapters of the press who were active in the period of the religious and political reform press. Adapters of the press used the printing press as a mass medium and they used it zealously. The first to do so were the indigenous religious reformers; people in the Arya Samaj, the Aligarh movement, the Ahmadiyya sect, the Ahl-i-Hadiths, the Singh Sabhas, and the Chief Khalsa Diwan. The political reformers then took their cue from the religious leaders. Their supporters of the Indian Association, the Congress Party, the Khilafat Movement, the Indian Muslim League, and the Unionist Party made use of the printing press.

The Punjab of the period of the religious and political press, i.e., from the late 1870s to independence in 1947, was more modern than the Punjab of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's times. The cities were larger and increasingly industrialized. The literacy was higher among men and women. There were faster and more mechanized modes of transportation and communication. Particularly, in the twentieth century, there was a growing reading public in Punjab. It was possible now to influence mass public opinion through print-medium. Men like Swami Dayanand Sarasvati, Mirza Ahmad and Bhagat Lakshman Singh used print and the printing press to further their respective missions and also of their respective communities because of unexceptional effectivity of the print-medium. They did not employ

print as a mass medium because it was a British tool, one endowed with honor because the masters used it. Rather, they and others used it because it suited their needs.

Before considering factors which influenced the use of print in Punjab, it will be helpful to discuss print itself. Printing is fundamentally a ditto device which copies visual and planar symbols. In comparison with copying manuscripts, printing can produce by means of certain tools and skilled personnel more copies of a work using fewer people within a given time. Printed copies can be more like the original or each other than manuscript copies can be. Because of these two characteristics the introduction of print into a manuscript culture can have social implications though these implications are not the same everywhere and at all times, because printing can be controlled and used in a variety of ways.

The application of print to "traditional" modes of communication changes them to the extent that print increases the number of identical copies of a work that are available within a set length of time. In Punjab, this type of efficiency attracted the attention and substantial investments of two types of patrons. The first kind of the patron was one whose primary resources were largely in the form of stable, self-sufficient groups of people. The British themselves can often be grouped in this category. Their financial resources were more adequate than their supply of personnel, especially when the Empire grew, or when European commitments strained the British personnel pool in India. In the beginning, the religious organizations also had this problem particularly when they made commitments to geometric growth, as did the Arya Samaj in the 1880s. Although the push for sectarian colleges by new organizations is one indication of the awareness, yet the groups were appreciative of the fact that the print communication alone was insufficient. Reformers felt that it was necessary to produce enough trained leaders to maintain a balanced ratio between the knowers of a tradition and its followers. The sole dependence on print to maintain contact between leaders of a movement and its followers was doubtful.

Another example of this type of patron was coalitions or groups who get organized immediately before or after a crisis and then deteriorate into a committee which slowly fades out. Here, time, the resource, was in the shortest supply. This final instance of organizations which relied on the press increased in frequency in the twentieth century. As independence approached in 1947, the World and South Asia learned to absorb information and disseminate it faster and faster.

The units of time governed by one set of information were becoming smaller due to the increasingly rapid appearance of new situations dominated by a new set of information. In this pattern, the price of agricultural commodities which might have varied seasonally, began to vary monthly, then weekly, and even daily in relation to news of distant events. In the twentieth century, the war news and election results in Europe had a major influence over the changing decisions and fortunes of Indian political parties.

The second type of organizations which were interested in print were the ones who catered to new distributions in literacy. While there were traditional organizations to produce written works for religious teachers in temples and mosques, or for local government records, this was not true for the new and expanding demands of secular schools, literate women, and industries where skills and procedures were modified in accordance with the information transmitted by the written word. These three examples had no adequate supply of scribes upon which to call. This was certainly true of industrial and agricultural organizations which found that they could advantageously apply to their work the most recent advances in technology. A general instance of the need not met by traditional scribal services were those of modernized Punjabis. Their appetite for journals, newspapers, fiction and scientific literature in book form, all in the Roman script made it impossible for scribes to supply their needs.

To supply print when demanded and to produce printed material to further individual as well as group goals, the Punjabis not only learned about and controlled a new technology, but also constructed social structures to operate presses, disseminate printed works, and give a semblance of relevance to print. The Punjabis thus created their publishing industry out of both western technology and the imperial setting of the nineteenth and twentieth century India. This selection was part of the social aspect of the process of adopting innovations, especially technological ones. When an innovation is embedded in a larger cultural package during the period of adaptation, it is possible to lessen the effects of elements of the total package. In social science literature, there is the label, known as modernization without westernization. The universal principles, such as technological ones, are extracted by a borrowing culture from a western culture without the borrower having to absorb also the peculiarities of the western culture.

The history of press in Punjab points out that a limiting factor to repackaging, or to modernization without westernization may

depend on alternatives and options that are available. Although we do not have a controlled situation it is probable that the invention of lithography in 1837, two years before the Second Anglo Sikh War, enabled the printing press to be adapted for printing Urdu faster than it would have otherwise been.¹ There was an Urdu type which is common in Iran and the Middle East for the Persian and the Arabic. The type is also used in India and Pakistan for Urdu occasionally. Lithography however, is preferred because of the lower costs for small operations, the ease of setting, and for reasons aesthetic.

Another example of technology providing limits to modifications and innovation is the minimal cost of a printing press and its accessories. Unless European technology had discovered inexpensive printing equipment, the history of Punjabi rural printing would be different today. The village print shops have spawned several newspapers. Some of these newspapers were successful and upon migrating to a city became nationally known. The Bengali *Anurita Barar Patrika* (which Bhagat Lakshman Singh zealously read) and Zafar Ali Khan's controversial paper, the *Zamindar*, are two examples of village enterprises gaining national recognition.

Besides the technological aspects that limit the adaptation of a tool, it must also be remembered that at times the options of a tool are not taken advantage of nor even perceived by a society. Whenever a new technique is introduced, such as a new communication medium, often it is used in the manner of familiar, older techniques. It takes a long time to explore the new uses of a discovery. At times a generation is needed to forget old ways. Printing can be manipulated like hand produced, manuscript techniques to produce limited editions of fine books. It also can be employed as a mass medium, where legibility is sufficient. It was printing that gave a fillip to the religious reform movements of the Hinduism and the Islam before the Punjabis began to learn to tap the mass communication potential of the printing press.

Not only is print flexible in terms of numbers of copies, but also in relation to content. Hence literacy is a multi-utility skill, an open ended gift of sight. When religious reformers, such as the Arya Samaj and the Singh Sabhas, carried out rural literary programs and when the Ahmadiyyas required all members including their families and servants to be literate, they, thereby, enabled their respective communities to read not only the sacred texts but also the newspapers, text books, personal letters, advertisements and even legal documents.

freedom for India and also to rebuild it. Both sets of leaders wanted to change the arrangement between the master and the subject. The reformers wanted to place distance between themselves and the British. For this, they found the printing press invaluable.

Neither set of adapters, of course, could have employed the press in the ways they did if it had not been for the adopters, the orphans, students, prisoners, and businessmen, who preceded them. Though labels of the various roles that were played differ yet structurally they were similar. All adopters were members of the Punjabi society playing a role which cut them off, isolated them, for varying periods from the time and attention consuming tasks of internal Punjabi activities. Many of the chores of a society center around internal as well as introspective affairs. A mother caring for young children, a priest studying sacred texts, children playing, a farmer behind his plough are all absorbed in culturally introspective affairs. These people have their needs cared for because of what they are doing. They have little time to explore alien and exotic innovations.

But potential adopters such as orphans, students, and others are in roles where funds and material support is given only if they explore and expose themselves. Wars, famines, the British conquest of Punjab, all increased the likelihood of these potential adopters being exposed to European ways. Thus when early missionaries sought individuals that would be dependent on them, enter into what these foreigners considered a meaningful relation, they found only orphans in a war torn, disrupted land and students of parents seeking to infiltrate and tie their fortunes to the destiny of the rising British Empire. The British officials found they could train prisoners and people seeking employment.

While not all relationships between the British innovators and their learning subjects were hierarchical in nature, the majority were because the over-all context of relationships was the Indian British Empire, in other words, a colonial situation. Even when men like Leitner entered into a respectful relationship with the Punjabis, it was done in light of the pervasive environment. As often as Leitner's Anjuman-i-Punjab spoke highly of "oriental" learning, it also referred to the need to bring the British bureaucracy and the Punjabi leaders closer. Even the goals of the later reform groups included references to promoting loyalty to the British.

Because the Western Punjab was part of an empire, the innovators included more than the Englishmen. The Indians, especially the Bengalis and the Hindustanis, also acted as introducers of the new

ay. Thi modified the dominant-ubmissive relationship between the British and the Punjabis. The Bengalis, as Brahmo Samajis and founder of such pre-Congress organizations as the Indian Association of Lahore promoted attitudes of confident independence and selective adoption of British ways. The chain of transmission of new ways grew longer and longer as the first century of the British rule passed. The Singh Sabhas of the Sikhs learned from the Arya Samajis, who in turn learned from the Bengali Brahmo Samajis, who had learned from the missionaries from outside India.

As the chain lengthened, as the Punjabis learned innovations from other Punjabis, the continual re-translation of the original innovation led to modification, to adaptation, of the innovation. In time, if it were not for the constant input of information by the West, the Punjabis might "dewesternize" the printing press and its associated systems. The enthusiastic acceptance of the printing press by reformers and people of vision among the Punjabis does not imply an acceptance of the totality of what the West has done with the press. The reformers of the 1890s and later used the press not because it was British, but because of its utility in communicating in a Punjab which had become increaingly modern: industrialized, urbanized, and literate.

REFERENCES

1. Natarajan, p. 203 and Ali, *Bookworld*, pp. 9-10.

APPENDICES

THE excerpts from the documents as given in the appendices are selections from Punjab Government reports dating from 1869 to 1932. These selections convey both a sense of development and a sampling of European attitudes in India.

I

Excerpts from the *Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Home (Education) Department*, No 51, dated 14th April 1886

The Government Resolution, No 27, dated 15th March 1886, dealt with the general financial condition of the Punjab University from an accounts point of view, leaving for further consideration the obligation of the University, moral or legal, arising out of any engagements, either express or implied, which the Punjab University had or was supposed to have, entered into with respect to Oriental learning and the application of Trust Funds, and any such obligations contracted since the University was constituted.

2 Inquiry into these matters was rendered necessary by the fact that repeated statements had been made, both within and without the University, that the Funds generally are being applied in a manner inconsistent with the principles on which the University was founded, and on the faith of which the Funds were subscribed, and more particularly that the wishes of the original founders and donors in regard to the encouragement of Oriental learning and the management of the Oriental College have not been fulfilled. These statements have been so confidently made that the Government has been

Committee for placing the Scheme before the Lieutenant-Governor with the view of ascertaining how far the Government would be prepared to countenance it, and the best means by which the "Committee of Support" could assist in carrying out the objects of the University Committee. The meeting, which was largely attended by the Native gentry, took place on 30th September 1865, and it was resolved that the Committee of Support should be requested to aid the scheme by advice, subscriptions and a special recommendation to the notice of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, which the European Committee in question gladly consented to do

* * *

8 . Among the "Documents submitted by the Anjuman-i-Punjab to the Senate of the Punjab University in reply to certain inquiries made by the Punjab Government connected with the history of the Punjab University Movement", there is a memorandum which purports to have been drawn up at the request of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and to express the results of a meeting held at the Lawrence Hall on Monday, the 22nd October 1866, at which His Honour presided. The scheme of the Punjab University College as eventually sanctioned bears very little resemblance to the project set forth in that memorandum, but if, as is probable, the memorandum is the one which the Lieutenant-Governor expected to be eventually submitted for his consideration, it may be useful to note that the framers of it, after combating the idea that the object of the University was only to revive what was old, erroneous and useless, and to despise and discard whatever was modern or European, thus succinctly state the intended general relations of the proposed University to Oriental and English studies respectively .

"In short, our desire is to avoid on the one hand the error of ultra-Orientalism and ultra-Englishism on the other. We will not force our students to acquire the English language before they can acquaint themselves with the principles of science, but we will teach them through their own language, at the same time we give free scope to the encouragement of the study of English. The Committee do indeed remember that the man who knows English possesses a key to stores of valuable literature which translation will never be able fully to lay open, but still they would not compel their students to a system which would make English everything and their own languages nothing, especially as we cannot hope to work the masses through the medium of English. A cardinal principle of the Committee is that there *should be encouragement everywhere and restriction nowhere . . .*"

9. The next step of importance . . . was a public announcement of the "objects and principles of the proposed Lahore University" under the signatures of the members of the European Committee of Support, and a public appeal to those who concurred in the scheme for donations and subscriptions . . . It is important to note that the term "Oriental University" had by this time been abandoned, and "Lahore University" substituted . . . The object was to remove all ambiguity as to the distinct intention of the University to promote the enlightened study of the English language and literature as well as Oriental learning . . . Donations and annual subscriptions, together with small miscellaneous receipts actually paid up to 31st March 1867, were Rs. 17,221-4-8. Against this, however, there had been an expenditure of Rs. 6,421-5-7, chiefly on account of a College and Anglo-Vernacular School opened by the Anjuman in Lahore, and afterwards closed.

* * *

11. The movement, however, received a fresh and strong impetus towards the close of 1867 . . . The Lieutenant-Governor considered that matters had now assumed a favourable phase for establishing a University of some kind, the representatives of the Native Chiefs in attendance on His Honour were assembled at a private meeting at which the Secretary to Government explained to them the state of matters, and intimated that if their masters took an interest in the subject, as was understood to be the case, the present was the time to afford practical proof of it. At that meeting the representatives of the Native Chiefs, one and all, stated that their masters would most heartily respond to any call for the purpose, provided a guarantee were given that the money would be devoted solely to the purposes for which it was subscribed, and that the want of such an assurance had been the main reason why their Chiefs had, hitherto, abstained from supporting the University Movement. The first result of that meeting was the munificent donation of Rs. 62,500 by the Maharaja of Kashmir on 14th January . . .

II

Excerpts from *Appendix VI*. No. 235, dated Lahore, 27th May 1868.
From : T.H. Thornton, Esquire, Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To : E.C. Bayley, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department . . .

* * *

4 , . It will be apparent to His Excellency in Council—

(1) That a strong desire exists on the part of a large number of the Chiefs, Nobles, and educated classes of this Province for the establishment of a system of education, which shall give greater encouragement to the communication of knowledge through the medium of the vernacular, to the development of a vernacular literature, and to the study of Oriental classics, than is afforded by the existing system—a system framed to meet the requirements of the University of Calcutta

* * *

(5) That, under these circumstances, a strong desire exists that there should be a separate University for the Punjab and its Dependencies, constituted on principles more in harmony with the wishes of the people

* * *

6 In the event of the establishment of a separate University for the Punjab being approved of by the Supreme Government, and sanction being accorded to the grant-in-aid above applied for, it is proposed, with the concurrence of the Anjumans (Native Literary Societies) of Lahore and Amritsar, which have been from the first the zealous promoters and supporters of the movement, and of the chiefs who have so munificently contributed, and of the principal officers of the Educational Department, that the plan and constitution of the University be as follows

- I That the University be established on the footing of grant-in-aid institution at the city of Lahore
- II That the special objects of the University shall be *to afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Oriental languages and literature, the improvement and extension of the vernacular literature of the Punjab and its Dependencies and the diffusion of Western knowledge through the medium of vernaculars .*

III

Excerpts from *Appendix VII* No 262, dated Simla, 22nd May 1869
From E C Bayley, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department .

To : The Secretary to Government, Punjab.

* * *

2. His Excellency is fully sensible of the value of the spontaneous efforts which have been made by the community in the Punjab, both Native and European, for the establishment of a local institution, which should have for its objects the development of learning especially in connection with the Vernacular languages, and His Excellency quite concurs with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that it would be a grave misfortune if those efforts should fail . . . His Excellency accords his sanction to the establishment of the proposed institution, and is willing that the governing body should not be merely connected with the teaching body, but that it should have the power of conferring Fellowships and Scholarships, and also of granting certificates of proficiency in such classes and under such rules as may be deemed expedient, and that it should be, with the Educational Officers of the Government, the consulting body in all matters of public instruction, including primary education . . .

IV

Excerpts from *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and Its Dependencies for the Year 1869-70*, by Captain W.R.M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction, Punjab (Lahore: Printed at the Albion Press, 1870).

* * *

37. It was stated in my last report that the Supreme Government had sanctioned the establishment of the Punjab University College, which was to be governed by a Senate consisting of promoters of the Oriental movement, persons eminent for their literary attainments, and ex-officio members to be appointed by Government, and that a grant-in-aid, equivalent to the annual subscription and the interest on donations upto a maximum of Rs. 21,000 per annum, had been sanctioned. Power had been given to the Senate to award certificates of merit, and to make grants, with the view of strengthening the Educational Staff of the Lahore and Delhi colleges, and I understood that the Lahore college would probably be amalgamated in the new institution...

* * *

39. The Senate has now been constituted and contains about 70 members, amongst whom are included most of the principal

Government officials and the leading members of the Native community at Lahore and Amritsar, the Commissioner and several Native gentlemen of Delhi, Inspector of Schools and Principals of Colleges, and various European and Native gentlemen in different parts of the Province. The first meeting of the Senate was held in January 1870, when an Executive Committee was appointed to draw up a scheme for the consideration of the Senate, and Doctor Leitner was appointed Registrar.

* * *

42 The Oriental school is intended to afford to men who have made some progress in Arabic and Sanskrit, the means of prosecuting their studies in these languages, and they are to be required at the same time to learn something of history, geography, and elementary mathematics

43 It has been recently proposed to add to the Oriental school a Persian department, and to award scholarships to students who show proficiency in that language. Now the study of Persian is extremely popular in the Punjab, and it is certain that the offer of scholarships will attract many competitors. As I have often pointed out history, geography, and mathematics are still unpopular branches of study, and we could at once gain unbounded popularity for our schools were these subjects expunged from our curriculum, and Persian alone permitted to remain. It must also be remembered that if we put out of consideration the Educational Department itself, and the small number of Vernacular students that the Punjab supplies to the Roorki college, Persian is the only branch of study (except of course the English language) that leads to Government employment. Now I have always been a warm advocate of the study of Persian, which is taught in our schools to a far greater extent than in those of any other Province. At the same time I think that any measure which tends to confine the study of youths of a school-going age to Persian only, must necessarily be injurious, and there can be no doubt that if scholarships are awarded in accordance with the results of a Persian examination, from which all other subjects are excluded, a direct inducement will be held out to candidates for these scholarships to confine their attention to Persian, and the fact that the successful students are expected, at a late stage, to commence those elementary branches of learning which should have been mastered during their school career, will by no means make up for the ill-effects that must ensue.

44. The special examination in Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, are of three grades, and on successful candidates, who show also a fair knowledge of history, geography, and elementary mathematics, are to be conferred the titles of Maulvi, Maulvi' Alim, and Maulvi Fazil for the three grades of the Arabic examination; Munshi, Munshi' Alim, and Munshi Fazil for the Persian examination; and Pandit, Pandit Visharad, and Pandit Pragya for the examinations in Sanskrit . . .

SECTION X

BOOK DEPARTMENT

* * *

180. During the year, 1,23,759 books, valued at Rs. 65,596 were brought on stock. Of these 33,283 were English books valued at Rs. 30,937, and 90,476 Vernacular books valued at Rs. 34,659. Rs. 39,969-13-9 were charged in contingent bills on account of these books during the year. Discount allowed by booksellers amounted to Rs. 4,820-5-1 and represents the excess of the value of the books above their actual cost. The balance, amounting to Rs. 21,106-8-0, is now in course of adjustment.

181. Books supplied to Deputy Commissioners and Head Masters of zila and normal schools numbered 1,18,910, and their cost was Rs. 42,197.

182. Rs. 40,710 were paid into the Lahore Treasury on account of the sale proceeds of books supplied during the last and previous years.

183. The bonafide sales during the year comprised 92,614 books valued at Rs. 28,434 and excess of Rs. 4,884 over the value of books sold during the preceding year.

184. Books and maps to the value of Rs. 1,607 have been distributed gratis by Deputy Commissioners for use in Vernacular schools, and 29,388 books valued at Rs. 7,400 were given away in prizes, 1,133 books worth Rs. 175 were sent to jails for use of prisoners, and 380 books valued at Rs. 1,798 have been supplied to the libraries of colleges and zila schools.

185. During the year 82,557 Vernacular books of the value of Rs. 22,776 were lithographed. Books are now printed with great care and neatness, stops are given after the system adopted by

Forbes and others, and the diacritical marks are supplied in all elementary works. The style of lithography continues to improve, and credit is due to Munshi Sa'adat 'Ali Khan, the Superintendent of the Press. Many of the books formerly in use were supplied by native presses, and were so badly printed as to be almost illegible. This of course interfered very seriously with the progress of the boys. . .

* * *

188 Rewards aggregating Rs 3,640 were offered during 1868-69 for the best Urdu and Persian Grammars, stories from Indian History, and translations of Potts' *Euclid*, that might be submitted. Six candidates sent Urdu Grammars, 13 Persian Grammars, and 3 translations of Potts' *Euclid*. No stories from Indian History were sent in. The books received were carefully examined, several officers being required to report on each book. None of them were considered worthy of the highest prizes offered, but rewards aggregating Rs 1,750 have been bestowed.

189. The offer of rewards for original composition and translation is likely to prove of great benefit a few years hence, when a fair number of students shall have received an education that will fit them for work of this description. At present, however, the combination of ability to write the Vernacular with elegance and a fair knowledge of any branch of modern learning is so rare that the offer of rewards is not likely to give rise to any literary production of real merit. For some time to come the best method for securing the preparation of useful Vernacular books will be to follow the system at present in force of entrusting their preparation to persons specially selected for the purpose, associating together when necessary an English and an Oriental scholar.

190 In accordance with the orders of the Supreme Government, the *Sarkari Akhbar* has been converted into an Educational Journal styled the *Atahq-i-Punjab*. It is edited by Lala Piyare Lal, the Head Translator in the Book Department, who has published in its pages, amongst other contributions, a translation of a chapter entitled "The Planets, are they inhabited worlds?" from Dr Lardner's *Museum*. He has also completed Collier's *History of the British Empire*, compiled the *Third Urdu Book* and performed other work of a miscellaneous character. He and his assistants are engaged in the completion of the *Student's Hume*, and the translation of a work on Physical Geography, and of Taylor's *Manual of Ancient History*.

191. The Supreme Government has expressed a wish that the Book Department, including the whole of the Curator's establishment, shall be made self-supporting. Measures have been introduced, since the close of the year, with the view of carrying out this object regarding the expediency of which I fully concur. I have no doubt that a considerable saving will be effected during the current year, but I look on the appointment of a European Curator, for which application has been made to the Supreme Government, as absolutely essential to the complete success of the new system.

V

Excerpts from Report on the Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies for 1910-1911 (Lahore : 1912).

* * *

55. LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

197. The number of publications received for registration increased largely, and 1,408 as compared with 1,191 in the previous year. The main increase is under the head of Punjabi books, of which 458 were published, or 159 more than in 1909. Five hundred and ninety-seven works were in Urdu, 107 were bi-lingual, 82 in Hindi, 80 in English. Of the total number 1,144 were original works.

Under 'Art' there are only two books, one on freehand drawing for schools and the other a pamphlet on music. A Sialkot firm has published a number of animal and plant charts for schools. As noticed last year, the printing, binding and illustrations of books are gradually improving.

Four more biographies appeared; as usual some of them are lives of saints, mostly Sufi Muhammadans. Such books, however, are going out of fashion and in their place lives of national heroes are coming into vogue. Muhammadan authors have produced lives of the friends and companions of their Prophet and those of Buali Sena, Aurangzeb, Zebunnisa, Wazir Sadulla Khan and Sir Sayed Ahmad. The Sikh heroes have their deeds chronicled in the *Punjabi Surma* and in the life of Hari Singh Nalwa, the Marshal Ney of the Punjab in the times of Ranjit Singh. Hindu heroines are pictured by the prolific writer Babu Sheo Brat Lal—*Sachchi Mataen*, *Hamari Mataen*, *Hindu Mataen*, *Chittor ki Rani* and Hindu heroes in such books as *Maharshi Narada*, *Bhisham Pitamah*, *Goswami Tulsi Das* and *Ram Mohan Rai*.

The number of dramas is more than double that of last year. A Rewari printer has published the well known stories of Padmayat, Nehal Dey and Bakawali in a dramatised form. These are represented in villages on festive occasions such as Holi and Dusshra.

Novels have also very largely increased. The historical novel is well represented. The *Intiqam* goes back to the time of Husain, the martyr of Karbala, describing scenes of Arab life in the early caliphate. Some Punjabi novels are exclusively religious, narrating cases of conversion to Sikhism. The historical works include several summaries intended for school pupils. An Amritsar firm published two compilations relating to early Muhammadan history, one relating to the ancient Arabs and the other to three famous ministers of the Caliph Harun-ur-Rashid. Muhammadans have always evinced interest in historical research and their works testify to their continued interest. It can hardly be said that novels have improved in literary merit. The original stories compare unfavourably with the translations.

Forty nine medical works are published, and as usual a large number of books on social reform.

The production of verses was exceptionally great, a large number dealing with the lives of popular heroes and heroines such as Hir Ranjha, Sohni Mahiwal, Sassi Punnu and Mirza Saibhan. The hymns of religious acts and songs from dramas are popular. Satires on men and manners and criticism of social and religious abuses find expression in verse. One adventurous poet turns orthography and etymology into rhyme. Poetry thus retains its hold on author and readers although the quality of many of their effusions leaves much to be desired.

The output of books of a seditious character has been checked, while on the other hand several prose and verse pamphlets on the advantages of British rule have been published.

The number of religious works is 235 and is higher than that of any other section of literature except poetry. Religion and poetry are frequently combined and work of this nature are much appreciated in the Punjab. The new critical spirit in religion, which is dissatisfied with dogmas, is represented in such Hindu works as *Qanun Karm* by Pandit Bishan Das, *Budh Dharm Aur Hindu Dharm Ka Mel*, *Ruhani Adarsh*, etc. Sikhism is expounded in a series of lectures in a book entitled *Gurmat Sambandhi Vjakhyan* and Muhammadanism in *Al-Ahntabat ul-Ahmadiya*.

198. There were 247 newspapers published during 1910. Of these 18 were published in English, 1 in English, Persian and Urdu, 178 in Urdu, 1 in Urdu-Roman, 1 in Urdu-Pashtu, 9 in Hindi, and 19 in Gurmukhi. Four English, 1 Roman-Urdu, 2 Hindi, 2 Gurmukhi and 21 Urdu newspapers were started, and 2 English, 1 Hindi, 1 Gurmukhi and 21 Urdu newspapers ceased to exist during the year, leaving a balance of 222. Three papers were published quarterly, 121 monthly, 31 twice a month, 4 three times a month, 78 weekly, 3 twice a week, 1 thrice a week and 7 daily.

199. No press prosecutions were launched during 1910. The following papers were warned during the year :

The *Musa'man* and the *Hadis* and the *Hidayat* were warned for publishing articles offensive to Aryas; the *Hidayat* having continued to write objectionable articles, was subsequently called upon to furnish security under Section 8(2) of the Press Act and thereupon ceased to exist.

The Muhammadan *Mujaddad* and *Hunter* on one side and the *Arya Arjun* on the other, having indulged in scurrilous and indecent articles reflecting upon such other's community, were all warned; the *Mujaddad*, having continued to write offensively, was subsequently called upon to furnish security under Section 8(2) of the Press Act, and then terminated its existence.

The *Arya Musafir* and *Prakash* were both warned for publishing writings offensive to Muhammadans.

The *Punjab Advocate* received a warning for having published a grossly exaggerated account of frontier tribal raids and other articles calculated to offend Muhammadan susceptibilities.

The keeper of the Sewak Machine Press was warned for printing a pamphlet entitled *Takarir-i-Ajit* written by Lal Chand Falak, which was proscribed by the Punjab Government under Section 12(1) of the Indian Press Act of 1910. The proprietor of the Hindustan Press received a similar warning for having printed a pamphlet entitled *Nara-i-Haidari*, which contained an attack upon the Muhammadan religion.

The keeper of the Rajput Printing Works was also warned for printing a document purporting to be a challenge from a sweeper to certain Muhammadan gentlemen.

VI

Excerpts from *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies for 1917-18* (Lahore 1919)

* * *

55 LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

LITERATURE

534 The slight decrease in the number of publications is due to the enormous rise in the price of paper. While the number of original works and translations has fallen, that of republications has slightly risen. Poetry and religion are, as usual, responsible for the largest number of publications. Some biographical works in Urdu clearly indicate the fact that broad minded people of all denominations have begun to appreciate what is worthy of admiration in the great men and women of other communities or nations. The Urdu version of Colonel Pease's *Contagious Diseases of Animals* is a unique work of its kind. The war formed the subject of about 30 poetical works and the pressing questions of moral and social reform (temperance, widow-marriage etc.), that of 40. There was no book worth the name on "Voyages and Travels".

535 The literary output of the year is on the whole poorer in quality as well as quantity than that of the last year, especially in drama, fiction and history.

PRESS

536 The total number of newspapers and periodicals of all kinds published in the Punjab during the whole or part of the year under report was 268. The figure for the preceding 12 months was 261. There were 216 papers and periodicals in existence at the end of the latter year as against 211 in existence at the close of 1916. Fifty-seven periodical publications were started during the year and 52 ceased to exist during the same period.

537 Of the 268 newspapers and periodicals, 171 were in Urdu, 61 in English, 22 in Gurmukhi, 10 in Hindi and 4 bilingual. The number of daily paper was 18, weekly 71 and monthly 149. The remaining papers appeared at irregular intervals. Of the 18 daily papers, 5 were English, one in Hindi and the remaining 12 in Urdu, of which 4 represented the Hindu and 7 the Muhammadan community, the twelfth being a war publication.

(c) Two for alarmist articles

(d) Two for unjustifiable attacks on a Government servant and a ruling chief

(e) Two warnings were administered to the same paper for its generally objectionable tone

546 No action was taken under section 12 of the Indian Press Act

547 The following action was taken under section 3 of Act XXV of 1867

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Warnings | 8 |
| Prosecutions | 3 |

548 In one case, a printing press was warned for printing a pamphlet of an indecent character and two prosecutions were instituted for offences of a similar kind

549 In four cases, the publishers were required to surrender for destruction all unsold copies of certain objectionable publications, while in two others some obscene and offensive passages were ordered to be deleted

VII

Excerpts from Report on the Administration of the Punjab and Its Dependencies for 1918-19 (Lahore 1920)

* * *

55 LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

LITERATURE

560 The slight decrease in the number of books is more than made up by an appreciable increase in periodicals. The number of Punjabi publications exceeds that of the publications in any of the other languages. Poetry and Religion continue to be the largest contributors, but Politics show a marked increase, while Art, Philosophy, Science and Voyages and Travels cut a poor figure. Almost all the works under 'Fiction' have a didactic aim. The *Bagh-i Alam* an Urdu translation of the *World in Pictures* is a beautifully illustrated manual published by the Punjab Text Book Committee and supplied free to the libraries of all Vernacular

Middle Schools. Some improvement in the quality of 'Religious publications' is noticeable, the tone of even controversial publications being less offensive than before.

561. On the whole, the literature of the year compares rather favourably with that of the previous year.

PRESS

562. The total number of newspapers and periodicals of all kinds published in the Punjab during the whole or part of the year under report was 264, as contrasted with 268 in 1917. Of these 264 newspapers, 176 were in Urdu, 55 in English, 21 in Gurmukhi, 9 in Hindi and 3 bi-lingual. The number of daily newspapers was 15, weekly 76 and monthly 147. The remainder appear at irregular intervals. Of the 15 daily newspapers, 5 were in English, one in Hindi, and the remaining 9 in Urdu, of which 4 represented the Hindus and the same number the Muhammadan community, the ninth being a war publication.

563. One hundred and fifty-six newspapers and periodicals were published in Lahore and 43 in Amritsar, these figures being identical with those in 1917. Other centres of journalistic activity were in Gurdaspur District (10), Simla (9), Ferozepore (8), Sialkot and Rawalpindi (5 each) and Gujarat and Gujranwala (4 each).

564. The combined circulation of the whole Punjab press is estimated at 320,000 copies, as compared with 246,000 and 270,000 in 1917 and 1916 respectively.

565. The total number of declarations filed under section 4 of Act XXV of 1867 during the year was 25, and under section 5, 242. Security was demanded on twelve occasions by District Magistrates. These demands were made either on original declaration, or on redeclaration, or by varying a previous order. No demand was made by the local Government in the year under report.

566. Action under the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules 1915, was confined to the imposition of a censorship order on *The Observer* and the issue of exclusion orders against two Madras and three Calcutta newspapers. The editor of *The Punjab* newspaper was required to abstain from journalism during the course of the war. As, however, he gave the required undertaking, the order was never formally served on him.

567 Formal warnings were administered through District Magistrates to newspapers and periodicals as follows :

- (a) Seven for publishing articles open to exception on political grounds
- (b) Eight for writings calculated to arouse sectarian feeling or religious animosity
- (c) Two for publishing matter of an alarmist character
- (d) Five for unjustifiable attacks on Government servants and Indians Chiefs
- (e) Three unclassified

Six publications were proscribed under Section 12 of the Indian Press Act (I of 1910)

Three prosecutions were instituted under Section 3 of Act XXV of 1867, while fifteen warnings were given under this section

VIII

Excerpts from Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab during the Quinquennium Ending 1931-32 (Lahore 1933)

* * *

CHAPTER XI

TEXT-BOOK COMMITTEE

At the present time, the Committee is composed of twenty five members, each nominated for a period of two years with the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, as *ex officio* President. There are seven Europeans, seven Muslims, six Hindus, two Indian Christians and two Sikhs on the Committee one of the seats being vacant. Most of the members are in intimate touch with the various types of educational institutions in the province, primary and secondary schools, vernacular and anglo-vernacular schools, girls' schools, industrial schools, training institutions, Government and aided schools and schools under private or sectarian management. Five members from out stations have been appointed and provision is made in the budget for the payment of their travelling expenses.

To facilitate the selection and preparation of suitable books,

| Year | Cost of Production | | |
|---------|--------------------|----|---|
| | Rs | A | P |
| 1925 26 | 530 | 9 | 0 |
| 1926 27 | 1,522 | 3 | 6 |
| 1927 28 | 1,344 | 4 | 9 |
| 1928 29 | 18,796 | 2 | 1 |
| 1929 30 | 16,539 | 0 | 0 |
| 1930 31 | 13 202 | 0 | 0 |
| 1931 32 | 8 928 | 8 | 4 |
| Total | 60 862 | 11 | 8 |

A=Anna
P=Pice

During 1929 30, an attempt was made to find out whether those translations which had already been presented to schools were being read by school boys. Some of the headmasters, who had been asked to state whether they considered the books useful and popular and of a type which would appeal to Punjabi school boys, sent satisfactory replies.

The original intention of the Committee in undertaking this work appears to have been to provide reading material suitable for the pupils of upper primary and middle classes or girls, and for the general public. At the close of the year 1931-32 at the suggestion of the Editorial Board, the Committee decided to enrich and encourage vernacular literature through translating books intended for the general reader which would supply scientific and up to date information on cultural subjects and to draw the attention of the general public to the work which is being done through articles and notices in the vernacular press and literary magazines. The following list gives the number of books and magazines supplied free to schools during the past five years.

BOOKS

| | No. of Books | Cost | | |
|---------|--------------|--------|----|---|
| | | Rs | A | P |
| 1927 28 | 52 | 12 271 | 5 | 0 |
| 1928 29 | 14 | 14 656 | 10 | 9 |
| 1929 30 | 15 | 22,239 | 4 | 8 |
| 1930 31 | 43 | 19,980 | 0 | 0 |
| 1931-32 | 8 | 6 260 | 6 | 8 |
| Total | | 75 407 | 11 | 1 |

The Committee continues to encourage authors translators and publishers by awarding prizes to the best books of the year. The budget provision for this purpose amounts to Rs 2,500, but except in 1927-28 this sum has always been exceeded.

The following tables show the record of the past five years as distributed over the three vernaculars the figures for the two previous quinquenniums being noted for comparison.

BOOKS SUBMITTED

| Year | Urdu | Hindi | Punjabi | Total |
|---------|-------|-------|---------|-------|
| 1926-27 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 11 |
| 1927-28 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 8 |
| 1928-29 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 10 |
| 1929-30 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 9 |
| 1930-31 | 9 | 3 | 6 | 18 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total | 23 | 12 | 21 | 56 |
| 1917-22 | 43 | 17 | 17 | 77 |
| 1923-27 | 27 | 10 | 12 | 49 |

AWARDS

| Year | Urdu Rs | Hindi Rs | Punjab Rs | Total Rs |
|---------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1927-28 | | 1 000 | | 1,000 |
| 1928-29 | 750 | 1 500 | 1 500 | 3 750 |
| 1929-30 | 1 500 | 500 | 750 | 2 750 |
| 1930-31 | 750 | 1 000 | 1 500 | 3 250 |
| 1931-32 | 1 500 | 500 | 750 | 2,750 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total | 4 500 | 4 500 | 4 500 | 13 500 |
| 1917-22 | 900 | 1 000 | 2 200 | 4 100 |
| 1923-27 | 6 500 | 2 800 | 2,500 | 11 800 |

From the second table it will be seen that only once during the quinquennium was the total amount available not distributed.

- *The Sikhs and Their Literature A Guide to Tracts, Books and Periodicals, 1849-1919* Delhi Manohar Book Service, 1970
- Bhagat Lakshman Singh *Autobiography* Edited and annotated by Ganda Singh Calcutta Sikh Cultural Centre, 1964
- Bhatnagar, Ram Ratan *The Rise and Growth of Hindi Journalism 1826-1945* Allahabad Kitab Mahal, 1947
- Bruce, J F *A History of the University of the Punjab* Lahore 1933
- Chandravarkar, G A "Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore," *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad), Vol 32 (1915), 516-522
- Chhabra, G S *The Advanced History of the Punjab Volume II Ranjit Singh and Post-Ranjit Singh Period* Ludhiana Prakash Brothers, 1960
- Clark, Henry Martyn *Robert Clark of the Punjab Pioneer and Missionary Statesman* New York Fleming H Revell Co, 1907
- Clark, Robert *A Brief Account of Thirty Years of Missionary Work of the Church Missionary Society in the Punjab & Sindh, 1852 to 1882* Lahore Printed at Albert Press, 1883
- *The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh* London Church Missionary Society, 1904
- Clarke, Geoffrey *The Post Office of India and Its Story* London John Lane, 1921
- Conference on Urdu and Hindi Christian Literature, held at Allahabad, 24th and 25th February, 1875* Madras Christian Vernacular Education Society, 1875
- Farquhar, John N *Modern Religious Movements in India* London Macmillan, 1917
- Feroze, S M A *Press in Pakistan* Lahore National Publications 1957
- Garrett, H L C and Abdul Hamid *A History of Government College 'Lahore, 1864-1964* Lahore Dr Nazir Ahmad, Principal of Government College, 1964
- Griswold, H D "Mirza Ghulam Ahmad the Mahdi Messiah of Qadian," *The Indian Evangelical Review* (January 1903), 322-353

- Husain, Azim. *Fazl-i-Husain : A Political Biography*. Calcutta : Orient Longsman, Green & Co., 1946.
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- . "Notes on Press History-VII." (mimeographed)
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- Kohli, Mohindar Pal. *The Influence of the West on Punjabi Literature*. Ludhiana : Lyall Book Depot, 1969.
- Kopf, David. *The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind*. Philadelphia : Princeton University Press, 1979.

- *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773 1835* Berkeley University of California Press, 1969
- Krishna Murthy, Nadig *Indian Journalism Origin, Growth and Development of Indian Journalism From Asoka to Nehru* Mysore Prasaranga, 1966
- Laird, Michael A *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793-1837* Oxford Clarendon, 1972
- Latif, Syed Abdul *The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature* London Foster Groom, 1924
- Latif, Syed Muhammad *Lahore Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* Lahore Syed Muhammad Minhaj ud din, 1956-57
- Lavan, Spencer *Ahmadīyah Movement A History and Perspective* Delhi Manohar Book Service, 1974
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- "Self Government in India," *Journal of East India Association*, Vol XVI, 211-352
- Lovett, Patrick *Journalism in India* Calcutta Banna Publishing Co 1928
- Lowrie, John C *Two Years in Upper India* New York Robert Carter and Brothers, 1850
- Malik, Ikram Ali *A Book of Readings on the History of the Punjab 1799-1947* Lahore Research Society of Pakistan, 1970
- *Punjab Muslim Press and the Muslim World 1888 1911* Lahore University of the Punjab, South Asian Institute, 1974
- Mehta, H R. *A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab, 1846-1884* Punjab Government Record Office Monograph No 5 (Reprint of 1929 edition) Patiala Languages Department, Punjab Government, 1971
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- Mohan Singh *An Introduction to Punjabi Literature* Amritsar Nanak Singh Pustak Mala, 1951,

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